

A *new* Price

TRIPLE ANTIDOTE,

against certaine very common Scandals
of this time, which, like infections and epi-
demicall diseases, haue generally annoyed most sorts
of people amongst vs, poisoned also not a few, and
diuers waies plagued and afflicted the whole State.

By *John Tichborne*, Doctor of Diuinity, and sometimes fellow
of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge.

ISAIAH. CAP. 62. VER. 1.

For Zions sake I will not hold my peace, and for Hierusalems sake,
I will not be at rest, vntil the righteousnesse thereof breake forth
as a light, and the healthfull saluation thereof as a
burning Lampe.

Bernardus in Sermone de septem confessionibus.

*Floruit olim Ecclesia in strage Martyrum, tum demum malitia hereti-
corum; nunc autem in contentione & corruptione falsorum fra-
trum litibus & quaestiuiculis inutilibus crescere non desunt.*



LONDON

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his shop in *Paules Chuch-yard*, at the signe of the
Holy Lambe. 1609.

TRIPLE ANTI-DOTE

...common...

...and...

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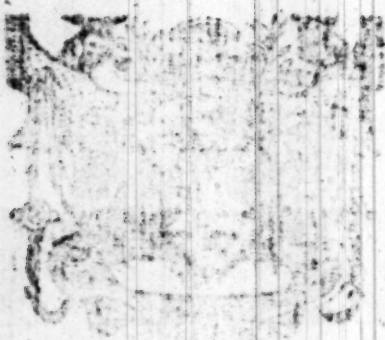
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AMPLISSIMO VIRO, RE-
VERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO

Patri, Domino longè honoratissimo, Archiepisco-
po Cantuariensi, *Iohannes Tichbornus* cum nouo & in-
eunte anno fausta, noua, & indies auctiora exoptat omnia,
& ex animo comprecatur.



TRENAM idcirco dixerunt
veteres, cum quia strenuis dari
solitam (vt *Varro*) tum etiam, id-
que potius, quasi trenam (vt *Fes-
tus*) à numero videlicet, quo
significatur, alterum tertiumque
venturum similis commodi. Si-
quidem imparibus gaudet Deus,
& *Mecænates* omnes (vt *Poeta*), nec non & ternarius hic
numerus *Philosophis* simul & magnis demum *Theologis*
sacer semper habitus, nescio quid magni & mysterii in
se continere vulgo credebatur. Apud quos celeberrim-
um fuit illud à *Pithagoreis* & *Aristotele* profectum, pri-
mo omnium tandem in vsu & ore receptum & vsurpa-
tum: *Tria sunt omnia*. Quod vt in *Xenij*s hisce, & *Bru-*
malibus (vt *Tertullianus* vocat) passim obseruari solitum,
Etymologus ille satis antiquus & idoneus notauit *Fes-*
tus: sic & in re medicinali non minùs sanctum & so-
lenne fuisse, *Arabes* primò, & post eos vniuersa *Ascle-*
pidarum nobilis familia, cum suis dosibus impari nume-
ro & cõpositione plerumque gaudentibus, contestantur.
Quod etiam magnū (credo) impulit *Aesculapium*, de tri-
bus hisce suis (quæ nos ex *Tertulliano* didicimus, & no-
stra vtcunque ferimus) tantonere gloriari. Quæ ipsa

In Apologetis
co. cap. 23.

EPISTOLA DEDICATORIA.

ego (quod foelix faustumque sit) tua impunitis (*Dignissime Archiepiscopus*) venia fretus & favore, morbis quibusdam inter nos passim grassantibus, & in omne (vt sit) hominum fere genus, hac tempestate saeuientibus admodum & debacchantibus, ad mouere studui. In quo negotio illud molestum & maxime deplorandum sentio, quod non solum (vt *Augustinus olim de quibusdam obseruauit suis*) plures vndique de medicina aegrotantes conspiciam, sed ipsa (quod mirandum magis) medicamenta frequentibus iam tandem indigere remediis, & medicorum manus & opem implorare deprehenda; adeoque quod medicis pridem (iuxta vetus verbum) nunc ipsis remediis obiectari iustius: *Vt seipsa curent.* Neque enim quicquam ad aeternam miserorum salutem utilius, aut *Ecclesiasticis* vbicunque constitutis rationibus conuenientius, à præpotente Deo mortalibus indultum fuit vnamquam, concessum & constitutum, quam quod Excommunicationis nomine & notione (quicquid sit tandem) indigitari solet & perhiberi. Nec humanum inuentum aliquod (si fas sit ita nuncupare) salubrius excogitari (*crede*) potuit aliquando, & stabiliri, quod tam diuinis quam humanis administrandis omnibus prodesset magis & subueniret quam *Subscriptio*; Nec antiquius demum, & ad religionis *Christiana* sacra & salutaria foelicius adumbranda, & recolenda, ab omnibus fere post *Christum* Ecclesiis communi quodam consensu receptum prius quicquam, & magis vsitatum, quam celeberrima illa, & omnibus oris notissima iam per signum *Crucis* *Ceremonia*. Que tamen orania, & fere sola omnium nunc manibus vapulare, & tam schismaticorum, quam aliorum (qui iam vndique oberrant) Criticorum obeliscis notari indies, & transfigi nemo non intelligit. Et quæ, rebus inter nos cæteroquin fere omnibus summo *Dei* beneficio & prudentissimi Principis cura (sicubi a-

liàs

Excommunica
tio.

Subscriptio.

Crucis config-
natio.

liās) optimè constitutis, sola in vitio habenda censi
 & fundi nostri (quod aiunt) calamitas, nescio quo fato
 aut malo merito suo, nuncupari possint & perhiberi
 Quorum sanitatem & dignitatem utcumque plurimi, ve-
 ritatis & futuræ (quam saxit *Dens*) ad posteros usque
 omnes transmittendæ pacis & foelicitatis studiosi recu-
 perare denuo summa cura & diligentia contenderint:
 nisi tu tamen (*Amplissime*) cum aliis quibus id muneris
 & officii tanquam propriis *Anglicana Ecclesia Aesculapij*
 incumbit, *Episcopis omni honore dignis*, pro summa qua va-
 letis arte & authoritate (tanquam *Iupiter* *dei maximus*, &
 verè *iuvantes patres* omnes maturè occurratis; quæ iam
 morbida flaccescere, & languida intabescere, heu nimi-
 um multi conspiciamur; inter mortua postmodum, si non
 extincta prorsus, & (*Quod Deus omen auertat*) cum eis-
 dem omnia quæ pacem, veritatem & unitatem in *Eccle-*
sia nostra tueri possunt & conseruare, breui contuebi-
 mur. Quod ad me attinet (*Reuerendissime Archipræsul*) om-
 niū minimū & infimū lubens agnosco, qui sub auspitiis
 doctissimi, integerrimi, & prudentissimi, defunctique
 iam *Iehoiada* & verè *Iehoshua* nostri aliquid in hoc gene-
 re tentarunt aliquando: Qui ad hæc omnia restauranda
 & restituenda, haud aliter multa tulit, sudavit & alsit, at-
 q; ille olim ad collapsā *Ierosolimam*; et longè indignissi-
 mum qui tibi iam partes eadem agenti, & tenenti se-
 des, hæc talia ingerere & obtrudere non reformidem.
 Cum tamen ita maleuolorum obtrectationibus & im-
 pulsu factum sit, & fatali quadam necessitate compara-
 tum, ut in publicū hoc modo prodire inuitus licet maxi-
 mē & reluctatus diu cogar, dabo operam fidelem, iura-
 tus dixerim (quamcunque tandem) quò ipsa (si fieri pos-
 sit) mala hæc tot malorum procatarctica depelli possint
 & remoueri. In quo conanime quid præstitum sit, te so-
 lum (*virorum optime*) (si optio daretur mihi) optarem iu-
 dicem

Zech 3. v. 10.

dicem : Cui si incæpta hæc accepta fore dignouerim, opere prætium me reportasse satis amplum existimabo ; quod & ad alia (quæ hætenus delituisse non magnopere piget) ocyùs eulganda dabit' animum: sin verò manca, hinc, & mille modis imperfecta offenderis, prima esse recognoscas, obnixè rogo : & quod priora duo attinet (modestè satis & verè dicam) quibus vix priora vel saltem perpauca alicubi extent. In quibus etiam tam magnis (& quod faciliè largientur credo omnes) subar- duis, voluisse & tentasse aliquid satis erit, præsertim mihi hæc primò adnitèri, & aliis bene multis iam diu occupato & nimium præpedito, & dum hæc ab initio mediarer, tantū non obfesso penitus & oppresso. Quæ si quod volumus effectum minùs dederint (quod medicantibus in hoc potissimū genere perrarè obtingit (*qui ut Galenus curare multos, sed sanare paucos solent*) illud tamen hinc commodi euenturum autumo & bene spero, quod vt tertium illud Crucis, & verè iam *Contradictionis Signum* nuperos (quod audio & multum gratulor) natum esse patronos bene multos, & verè *Aesculapios* : sic & alios nostra hæc forsitan excitabunt, qui depositis illis & penè desperatis de *Excommunicatione* & *Subscriptione* curis & medelis extremam (quod aiunt) manum quamprimum addant & imponant. *Qua denique* quoniam tibi in *Excelsissimo Episcopalis dignitatis culmine*, magno tuo merito, virtute & prudentia constituto, quæ exhibeantur minora esse, & longè indignissima satis intelligā: me ipsum (si placet) cum aliis pro strenarū more & indole postmodum insequenturis vnà offero & adiungo, *adeoque* se totum ditioni tuæ dicat consecrat, & hisce demum pauculis consignat in perpetuum,

Honoratissimæ Amplitudinis tuæ obseruantissimus

IOHANNES TICHBORNVS.

The Epistle to the Reader.

IT was well saide of that Italian Merchant, for all refined pollicies of this last age: That the world must be sicke and purged also before it die. Wherein what the great Physition hath from time to time practised upon that vaste bodie sometime by fire, sometime by water, & generally by many great, & comon destructions, euery generation and story are perpetuall witnesses: and Saint Hierome most passionately doth expresse and bewaile, writing thus against Iouinian: Succrescit silua vt succidatur. Howbeit a better Prophet prognosticated of some more speciall diseases which should befall, and possesse the wayward, crasie, & most dispepered old age of the world, auouching by the spirit, that in the last dayes men should be full of selfeloue, couetousnesse, pride, wantonnesse, and such like (which the learned haue obserued, and found to be the root and causes of all heresies;) as also disobedient and breakers of oath and promises, from whence haue proceeded the manifold Sects, Schismes, and personall separations disturbing alwaies the outward peace, & quiet government of the Church of God. For the mitigating and repressing whereof (because they can neuer wholly be cured, or taken away: for there must be heresies, and Coccle, tares, and darnell will be sowed, and must grow amongst the best corne, and croppe vntill the end) it hath pleased Christ, the soules sole Physition and great protector of his Church,

Machiauel. de
repub.

Libro primo
contra Iouin.

2. Tim. 3. v. 1.

1. Cor. 11.
Math. 13.

The Epistle

Church, to substitute the Ministry and Magistracy, whereby as Chirurgians and his owne hands in those his ordinances, to apply sundry kinds of remedies, to so many and diuers maladies; both which working diuersly, yet to one and the same end, partly by the word and spirit, and partly by the ciuill sword, doe hold up, as well the generall frame, and compage of the whole body, as the estates of all particular Churches and Common wealths, untill the day of perfect recuring and restoring all things come. Now the physicke and Cure committed to the hand of the Church (which is the subiect matter of my treatise ensuing) may for our better discerning and handling the same for this present, not unfitly bee matched with the termes and parts made, and giuen by the learned to that happy art, whereby the life and health of the lesser world, mans body is procured, and maintained. Which being by the vsuall account three in number, namely *ἡγεμονία*, *ὕψιστος*, *κοινωνία*, may for breuity & order sake, be reduced to the three special heads, to which I haue referred this my so termed threefold Antidote, and desired to apply the same to our present state in England, being now by God his blessing (if all had eyes or grace to see it) as was sometimes said of Rome and Athens *ἡ μικρὴ πόλις*: euen a little world, or a brieft and Epitome of all God his mercies elsewhere bestowed vpon all the Churches, and Common-wealths in the world. Vnderstanding by the first thereof Excommunication (which comprizeth vnder it, as a part for the whole, exhortations, admonitions, reprehensions, threatnings, confession, absolution, and such like) all these meanes which the ministry and power of the keyes may by the word and spirit prescribe at any time, for the purging and healing so many soules sicknesses, which the whole Church for this life, and euery member thereof, is continually subiect vnto. And by the second, termed Subscription, answering to that second general part

To the Reader.

part of physicke, called Hygeine, in respect of the nature, end, and manifold use therof; we meane all wholesome decrees, Councils, private or publique, and constitutions of the Church, by which the truth of doctrine, amidst the manifold differences, and contrarily minded people in the world, may be preserved and maintained, the inward peace of each conscience more fully and safely secured, and the outward order of euery particular Church better established and defended against all manner of oppositions, by turbulent spirits in that behalfe, and the iust temper of the whole body of Christ, by all good meanes, & wise foresight continued throughout the world. And lastly, by the Crosse, which I haue made the noble Hieroglyphicon of all other decent ceremonies to bee used at any time in the Church of God; I vnderstand all comely ornaments, whereby as well Christ his Ministers, according to their differences, degrees & dignities; as all other things belonging to the least performance and holy administration in God his seruice may and ought to be beautified, decked and adorned: all scarres and defects naturally or by euill euent incident to any Church, healed, and supplied, and the most naturall sweet colour, vigour, and beautie of Christ his Spouse, be made resplendent, and apparant to the whole world, with all other properties and effects, which that decorative art, and last part of Physicke is knowne, and celebrated to bring to passe in mans body. All which as in these last dangerous dayes they haue been much incombred by the hands and meanes of Schismatikes, Atheists, Churchrobbers, and such like, of the prophane & cursed crew of so many heathenish people, that haue rushed into Gods inheritance: as Psal. 80. v. r. and a nation tortured and afflicted now a long time with all kind of spirituall diseases and enormities, and euen brought (as they say) to the last cast; so stand they now in need, if euer, to be releued with all the best antidotes and electuaries, which

The Epistle

from both hands of Ministry and Magistracy the Lord is willing (as Esay. 42. ver. 21.) if men also would do their parts at all wants. And assaies most readily to affoord; and indeed, now is the time spoken of by the Prophet: Plal. 119. ver. 126. for the Lord to put to his hand; for men haue destroyed, and euen with plague and pestilence (as the Septuagints render it) wasted and adnulled his Lawe, and all the meanes for the magnifying and exalting the same, as the Prophet Esay complaineth in the place aboue named. Howbeit because purging medicines, especially of the highest kind and degree, such as Excommunication, hath proportion vnto, are very seldome, and with greatest care to be used; it hath been the iudgement, and resolute of our late graue Diuines, and very worthy and wise governours, especially of that thrice reuerend Whitgift, that considering these late turbulent times, very little or nothing at all should be spoken or written touching the true nature, power, use, and necessity of that great and high censure. But now that it hath pleased God by the eye and care of our most noble Soueraigne, to appoint a couragious prudent Alexander, in the place and roome of that renowned Philip for his wisdom, meeknesse, and sweet moderation of all things belonging to Ecclesiasticall affayres whilst he sate at that stearne, and hath withall enlarged somewhat his vergee power, by putting the garments of Aaron, as Exod. 28. ver. 2. upon his shoulders, and committing the golden rodde as well as the pot of Manna and tables of the Lawe to his spectall custoday: I holde it high time for all sorts of persons, and especially of our owne tribe, to vse all good meanes for the repaying the manifold breaches, irruptions, and depopulations before mentioned, and the giuing and bringing vpon Ierusalem beauty in stead of ashes, the oyle of ioy for mourning, and the garment of gladnesse for the spirit of heauinesse, as was prophecied and promised by the prophet

Esay

To the Reader.

Esay 61.verf.3.to come to passe in these dayes of the Gospell and greatest grace, and would no doubt, but for the great abuse, contempt, and neglect of both, be fully effected and accomplished. In which respect if all meanes were summed vp together, I presume none would be found so excellently usefull, and absolutely necessary as Excommunication & Subscription, which therefore I haue placed in the forefront; the one containing in it and requiring by it, a iust power to be inuested in the sacred ministry, for the establishing all due meanes for the soules health, and recovering the same once lost or decayed: the other providing a constant, uniforme, and certaine course and order for the executing and obseruing most precisely euery the least thing once enacted and so appointed, as without which indeed it is impossible any where to uphold a comfortable ministry, or that the Magistrate should be able to retaine any meanes in any forme or due tenor for Gods seruice, or the common peace, iustice, and equity amongst men; for want also whereof, any may perceiue how little profit hath been made of so long and much preaching in this kingdome, arising chiefly from so many differences, new inuentions, and extrauagant courses as well in preaching as in infinite strange opinions, and unheard of new and vaine doctrines broached and scattered in euery country, Church & corner: insomuch as I may too too truly say, the cause of so litle religion in the world is, for that there hath been of late & now also is so much religion, I meane so much padding and meddling in it, and so many kinds and meanes vnrepressed, and not so seuerely proceeded or seriously provided against of euery mans deuice to expresse it. And which is treason to attempt in state affayres once appointed by men, is now admired and magnified, and not only admitted, or at the leastwise permitted and winked at in Gods matters; which a good writer seeing, and foreseeing, compliyned of long sithence

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in this manner: Ratiunculis & sermonibus de religione sili-
logisticis inhiant iam omnes etiam ex ima plebe, tan-
quam herbis & pascuis armenta, with many other such like
words and matter to that purpose, the summe & sence where-
of is according to our former interence, that whilst every one is
bold, and taketh liberty to himselfe to dispute and dispose of
Religion in generall, and the highest and chiefeest points there-
of, it is come to passe that they haue in them no true or sound
religion at all, but to end as we began with Saint Paul his
prophecie, most make a shew of godlinesse, but deny the power
thercof, and so become flat Apostates at the last to deny the
faith, that is all true Religion, the Church, God and all. For my
part, albeit I could wish according to the old word; Da mihi
medicum canum capillis, that, as Hierome told Augu-
stine, all mens endeuours in this kind were like the steps of the
winded Ox, that fastneth sure footing wheresoeuer he goeth; yet
observing as Camerarius doth the like in the practise of He-
rodotus and Theucidides, how young vs starts and Emperick
mountebankes are too bold & aduenturous to offer their drugs
in this behalfe, I meane much loose, old, and disguised stuffe
without new matter or better forme and order (both which, or
at the least the latter ought to be discerned in enery new work)
and that euen at the games of Olympus: and how withall our
auncients for dayes, as Elihu termeth them (who indeede
should speake by word and writing to this cause) doe sit still
in that their politique resolute open *ῥῆσις*, or like Ruben
Iudg. 5. verl. 16. are content to abide all their lines private, by
their sheepsfolds, notwithstanding the much bleating of their
owne and other flocks: the indignation of the matter on both
sides hath drawne and enforced me to this second aduenture,
and to say with Elihu, Who can in such a cause refraine from
speaking and writing also, especially in the behalfe of Excom-
munication

2. Tim. 3. vers.
5. with 1. Tim.
4. vers. 1.

In Epist. ref.
poni. ad Augu.

In his notes
vpon Theu-
cidides.

To the Reader.

munication and Subscription, whose reproch redounding so to God and his Church, I haue so often heard? and for which happily (some may say) and I must needs acknowledge) my selfe haue payed so deere, and can yet be content, and will be most willing to be more vile (as he said) yea if it could be so purchased with name, liuing and life it selfe to redeem the great good and consequence of them both to the present state of our Church, to which I haue adressed and after my manner prepared this poor Antidote, desiring GOD that it may sort to none other euent & end then I aymed at & propounded to my selfe in the former; which is and euer shall be partly to stir vp others of greater ability to some better seruice in this kynd, as also to cause much other of the kind and quality spent already and truly meant that way, to be reuiued againe, and by this meanes if it may be to worke the better: the issue whereof I commit and commend to the hand and blessing of that great physition that came to heale the sores & repayre the decayes of our nature, and tooke vpon him our infirmities, and cured all our diseases, as it is in the Gospell, euen Iesus Christ, the Prince and author of all health and saluation, who is God blessed for euer.

Mat. 8. ver. 17.

Amen.

Thine euer in the Lord, although
with losse of himselfe,

I. Tichborne.



A Table containing the Chapters in this booke.



HE first directed as a remedy for *Excommunication*, being through ignorance of the true nature, vse, and power thereof, and great neglect and contempt thereupon of that holy censure, not only sick but euē dead, or at the least dying at the heart; and therefore it is called *Sacordium*.

The second is provided in like manner for *Subscription*, and is termed *Denarium*, in respect of the most decayed state thereof, which also hath now neede if euer, by such preparatiues to other (I hope) more strong and restoring medicines, to be reuiued and set a foote againe in these factious and turbulent times.

Tertul. in his Apologie, and against the Iewes.

The third is especially wished and addressed to those weake stomachs of many, euen of our owne Tribe, and others amongst vs, who distast so many things in the Ceremonies of our Church, and cannot as yet bee brought by any meanes to brooke and digest the least vse or mention almost of the Crosse; whose good is feelingly tendered and very sincerely respected herein, as *Aesculapius* did in one of his Receipts, the health and recovery of his best friends, which therefore is accordingly named *Asclepiodoron*. All which termes and remedies were so vsed and interchangeably directed and applied by *Aesculapius* himselfe, according to the nature of the disease, the state of the affected therewith, and the qualities of the remedies applicable therevnto.

The ingredients of all which are conueied in the Chapters following, fitted as particular due receipts of the same. Whereof the first hath three more large ones according to the consistence of the matter handled therein.

Sacordium.

The first wheteof containeth the names, natures, and manifold kinds and differences of *Excommunication*.

The second comprizeth and importeth the true end and scope of all those kinds and differences of *Excommunication* aboue named, with some little infusion of gnomical Diuinitie, touching one specall point for proceeding thereby against some kinde of persons, after their confessions, and often absolutions thereupon.

The third giuen as an Electuary by way of answer to cerraine questions, and sundry obiections and exceptions made by diuers of these times, against some particulars in the managing and executing this great censure of *Excommunication* by the gouernors and Officials of our Church, and others which

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which for many yeares together vntill this day haue vsed and obserued the same.

The second concerning Subscription hath five receipts comprehended in *Denatium*, so many chapters.

The first whereof shewing that Subscription is not such a heauy and heynous matter as many would make the world belecue, thereby to draw enuy and obloquy vpon the thing it selfe, and the vrgers of the same.

The second declareth the true nature and end of the inuventing and vring of any kind of Subscription, by the prudent gouernors of any Church or state.

The third relateth the auncient, constant, & generall vse of this kinde of proceeding in the Church of God, and all other kindes of societies and incorporations whatsoeuer.

The fourth conuinceth the absolute necessitie thereof in any well ordered government and securely citablihed state, by all wise foresight and iust preuention.

The fift affoordeth reasons both to the weake and obstinate, why they may and ought to yeeld hereunto, with some answers also to their ignorant and frivulous objections to the contrary.

The third prescribed about the due vse of the Crosse, hath seven special receipts according to the distempers of sundry persons diuersly conceived and affected against it, & many waies scandalized and offended thereby, as they say. *Asclepiodotus.*

The first whereof intreateth of the lawfulnessse and necessity of Ceremonies in general, and in all solemne, publique, and more especially all holy administrations whatsoeuer, and how far the Magistrates authority may stretch for the determining of any to be vsed in particular: thereby the better to establish the consciences, and setting (as it were, the waumish stomackes of the aforenamed) for entertaining the particulars that follow.

The second enquireth of the Crosse, and findeth it to be in the number of indifferent and lawfull Ceremonies: yea and necessary also, being once commanded by the Magistrate.

The third aduoucheth the general allowance of this Crosse by the practise of auncient times, and iudgement of learned fathers, with their reasons for the inuventing and retaining thereof, and other iudicious late Writers accordingly.

The fourth examineth and answereth those many reasons alledged, and some of them but lately coined, to proue the best vse of this Crosse, or any other such Ceremonies to be simply wicked, & to be not onely in their vse, but euen in themselves, and in their owne nature vterly vnlawfull.

The fift encountereth with that one most stubborne conceipt, and irremouable humour of some that would needes haue it accidentally vnlawfull at the least, and that especially because it hath beene so much abused, and very commonly sometimes made and set vp for a greate Idoll in the world.

The

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The sixt endeoureth to purge all of that peeuish and most silly conceipte of all other, pretending and presuming vppon their Christian liberty to neglect the vse of this ceremony, and to violate any other good order & humane constitution whatsoever.

The seuenthand last remoueth that melancholike and braynsick opinion and conceipt of so many scandals, or at the least so many occasions of scandals, which are supposed and imagined to arise from the vse of this Crosse, which fancy hauing framed, and no sound iudgement from any true rule of practicall diuinity (sorting some answers therunto according to the nature of the objections) we with them all heauenly Physicke, and leaue them to the prayers and other good helps from many wile, godly, and learned amongst vs.

The Errata.

Epist. Dedicat. p. 6. l. 19. for *esse* read *est*. p. 11. l. 23. for *occur-*
rents, r. *accurrants*. p. 15. l. 20. for *permission*, r. *commission*. *ibi.*
ve dilesceat, r. *ne uilescat*, p. 26. l. 32. put out the first and. p. 32. l. 25
for *or*, r. *but*. p. 35. l. 9. for *particular*, r. *particulars*. p. 47. lin. 23.
for *an vniuersall*, r. *any*. p. 57. l. 6. for *one*, read *due*. p. 65. l. 6. for
like, r. *lawfull*. p. 67. l. 5. insert this sentence. *Hieron. in Epistola*
ad Lucinium, pag. 72. *Nec hoc dico quod dominicis diebus ieiunan-*
dum putem, & contextas sexaginta diebus ferius auferam: sed una-
queque provincia abundet suo sensu, & precepta maiorum leges A-
postolicas arbitretur. p. 76. in the marg. put out, as *Bellarmino*. p.
78. l. 2. for *facts*, r. *fasts*. p. 81. l. 35. for *Antichrist*, r. *Antichrists*.
p. 84. l. 35. for *conscience of some*, r. *conscience of sinne*. p. 85.
l. 18. put out *not* in the title of the Chap. p. 96. l. 34. for *tollerent*,
read *tolerent*.



A TRIPLE ANTI- DOTE AGAINST CER-

taine very common Scandalles of this

time, which like infectious and epidemicall diseases

haue generally annoyed most sorts of people

amongst vs, poisoned also not a few, and

diuers wayes plagued and affli-

cted the whole State.

CHAP. I.

Containing the names, natures and manifold kinds and differences of Excommunication.



Excommunication beeing the highest
censure of all Ecclesiasticall power,
from which the other two of Subscrip-
tion and the Crosse with all such de-
cent and profitable ceremonies doe
naturally arise; and the lawfulness and
necessity of these latter depending for
the most part vpon the former: I haue
placed the same in the forefront (as it
were) of those many battels and encounters, which by all
kind of people almost in this complaining and murmuring
age haue beene made against themall, but especially against
the truth, power and vse of excommunication. Which ac-
cording to the name and nature thereof, I haue first of all en-
deuoured to define after this manner: Namely (as the word
expoundeth it selfe) Excommunication in the most generall

sense

*Excommunicatio
a communi bono
separatio.*

sense and acception thereof is nothing els but a separation from some common benefite, of which any formerly haue beene, or otherwise might haue been partakers: which is the common receiued definition by the Schooles and Canons. Which being somewhat too generall for our purpose, after certaine diuisions of these larger termes, wee hope at the length to comprise the full summe and substance thereof in as short a compasse as so great a matter may be. These common benefites and priuiledges therefore enioyed in this life, being either Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill; this terme of Excommunication hath beene alwaies by all sufficient writers restrained to those speciall graces and fauours, which belong properly to the Church: and so this censure is to be defined accordingly, to be a debarring and separation from the Church: which also being either visible, or inuisible, the trueth and nature of this excommunication must be in like manner examined and distinguished to be a separation from the visible or inuisible Church. Of which distinction sundry reasons may be giuen, which briefly may be comprised in these two positions, from which many more particulars may easily be collected: first, that the knowledge, order, and proceeding in either of these kindes are very much differing; both in respect of the persons censuring, accusing, or offending, as also of the defaults and punishments thereunto belonging: the one being alwaies certaine after one manner, because God (as *Augustine* well obserueth) who is the high Iudge in that priuy Court, doth see all things euermore as they are, and iudgeth accordingly by his present mercy and present iustice: taking all actions and persons as he findeth them, and so his word and ministry thereof, with all other meanes belonging to this Excommunication, proceed by the same order and degree: the other very variable (from the visible Church) and vncertaine, taking knowledge, and giuing order for personall causes according to particular allegations and proofes (as they say): which *Hugo de sanct:* in his booke *de Sacramentis legis naturalis & scriptae*, doth more largely expresse making foure kindes of iudge-

*Primo secundum
praescientiam
2. Causam.
3. Operationem.
4. retributionem
fol. 2047.*

iudgements . Secondly, because one and the selfe same person may be admitted and allowed for a communicant in the one, which happily hath no interest nor fellowship in the other: and so contrarily the same persons may by course and order of lawes and proceeding in some cases be remoued from some part of the visible Church, which keepe their place firme and sure in the inuisible, as 1. *Timothy Chap. 5. verse. 24.* and 2. *Samuel Chap. 16. verse. 7.* is plainly auouched that God seeth not as man seeth, and that some mens sinnes goe before vnto iudgement, and some follow after. Now this Excommunication from the inuisible Church is onely infallibly known and exercised by God; who alone knoweth who are his. 2. *Tim. chap. 2. vers. 19.* And how at all times euery one standeth or falleth to himselfe the great master of all. *Rom. 14. vers. 4.* yet hath hee appointed certaine persons to whome a speciall commission is directed to proceede in this inward and high Court of conscience, and by which speciall meanes (as by certaine signes and best coniectures) the knowledge of euery one his estate and freeholde (as it were) in the inuisible Church and true fellowship with God and his Saints may be discerned: which meanes the learned haue called *voluntatem signi* (being indeed *signa voluntatis*) subordinate to that infallible prescience and predestination of God, by which together with these signes and meanes, which for that end are prepared and appointed by God, all are deliuered from their miserable estate and fellowship with the diuell and Church malignant and receiued into this inuisible Church and company, whosoever they are that are at any time so receiued (as Saint *Augustine* in many places learnedly sheweth): which signes and meanes specified in the word of God, and commonly called and vnderstood by those generall graces of faith and repentance, being found in any, or testified by any outward signes to those Commissaries of God (as I may so terme them aboue named) so farre as they can, or ought to iudge, according to their rites of commission and proceeding, to be in any or otherwise to be wanting; so are they iudged

Definitio excommunicationis ab inuisibili ecclesia.

and allowed for meere partakers and communicantes with that heavenly society, being qualified thereunto by the former graces, or els to be wholly vnworthy and out of the same, and so being admitted or excluded by these stewards, Gods ministers (whome God hath appointed and none other, as shall be shewed hereafter to deale in that high Court of his) or pronounced priuately or more openly so to be: whatsoeuer they shall doe in that behalfe according to the tenour of their commission and order of their court roules (which is the truth and scope of holy scriptures) shall be ratified and confirmed in heauen, both for the pardon of sinne which is the kingdom of grace in this life, *Ioh. 20. vers. 23.* and the full state of glory for euer in heauen, *Mat. 16. vers. 19.* In regard whereof this excommunication from the inuisible Church, so farre forth as it may be awarded, or any way iudicially proceeded in by man, may thus be described: to bee that part of the power of the keyes, whereby vpon the signes and evidences of infidelity, heresie, irrepentance or such like, euery true minister doth pronounce any to be in the state of Gods wrath, and out of the fellowship and communion of Saints. Which power albeit Saint *Augustine* giueth sometimes to priuate mens admonishments and exhortations (saying thereupon *cohortatorie*, as *Luther* obserueth him, and the other learned fathers to speake many times) *Ligasti aut soluisi fratrem*: yet is this no whit of this nature and kind whereof we intreat, this being an exhortation or counsell, and a common worke of charity belonging to all Christians: the other a iudgement or a solemne and peculiar iudiciall proceeding, performed alwayes by Gods ministers onely and lieutenants in this behalfe: wherein God deales by them as a King doth by his Iudges and other immediate officers for any state occasion; wherein although many haue skill and can giue counsell and aducie, yet are no charters (*quoad ius* as wee say) pardons or iudgements whatsoeuer of validity and force to carry or confirme any thing for or against any, except they be pronounced or otherwise sealed and warranted by those who are called and designed to represent

present and supply the Kings place and person in any of the same. And thus much briefly of this first kinde of excommunication, which respecteth indifferently all kindes of people that haue soules to be saued: and may, yea ought to be exercised in all places where any true minister is found, albeit there be no order or power established according to the nature of a visible Church, or other ordered gouernment whatsoeuer: For so is the nature of the other excommunication which wee made to be from the visible Church; wherein alwayes is required some company liuing vnder forme of outward gouernment, by which lawes may be made and enacted for this, or at the least some other kinde of separation from the same; for so Saint *Paul* speaketh of a company to be gathered together, as from which that incestuous person was to be remoued by his owne censure: which also may appeare by all other such separations which euer haue beene read of, or are as yet practised in the world: wherein by some kind of power established amongst some company liuing vnder gouernement (be it of one kind or other) certaine persons haue beene excluded oftentimes (according to the discretion of the gouernours thereof) from the face and fellowship of some visible Church: Which also according to the causes and diuers kinds of operation, and proceeding by or against any, this kinde of excommunication must againe be diuided into that which by violence without cause, and against all order and reason is oftentimes denounced: and that which vpon iust cause, or by some kinde of order at the least is commenced and executed for the separation of any from the visible Church; the first whereof may be called *excommunicatio violentiae*, such as were exercised by Tyrants against many a true member both of the visible and inuisible Church: the other not vnfitly termed *excommunicatio ordinis*, in which by some orderly proceeding and vnder some course of Lawe and constitutions iust or vniust any are remoued from any such company and priuiledges belonging thereunto: which also being as all iudgements are as the Schooles distinguish them, vsurped or deposed and rai-

red with some in iustice and wrong, or els direct and regulated according to trueth and equity: so likewise is this *excommunicatio ordinis* whereby good *Ieremie* and our Sauour Christ himselfe *Iohn 7.* were by such orders (as those times did afford *Abfentes* (as the word in *Ieremie* importeth) and debarred, at the least from many priuiledges of that Church and time (as the word *ἀποκλεισμός* may by *Erastus* his own acception or any others signifie) as well as that incestuous person most iustlie by *Paul* from the company and priuiledges of the Church of *Corinth.* But to tye our selues to that excommunication which by good order and vpon iust and necessary cause is alwayes awarded, resting in the hands & power of euery true Church and company gathered together in the name of Christ, to professe his name and seruice, that also hath it differences and distinctions : for so by the Schooles and Kanons many such haue beene inuented, whereof that of *excommunicatio maior & minor*, the greater and the lesse, may very well fit our purpose. According to the vse of this greate censure by all Christian Churches in the world. Which vpon the assistance at the last of Christian magistracy, and by their owne speciall decrees and constitutions thereabout, haue extended the power of this censure to the debarring of those that are separated thereby from many common priuiledges, whereof the ciuill estate maketh them otherwise partakers: as appeareth by many ciuill constitutions and statute Lawes in force at this present amongst vs, *de excommunicato capiendo*, and such like to that purpose. For which cause this excommunication by order as we haue termed it for the better setting downe the true nature of it, must once againe be diuided into that which is meerly ecclesiasticall, as proceeding onely and wholly from that power of the keyes which are giuen to the Church, for the ruling and sauing offoules; or els into that which is ciuill (abusiue so called and *ἐκκλησιαστικὴ* as we say) or lastly, partly ecclesiastical and partly ciuill; according to which are most proceedings therein for the outward gouernement of any Church at this day. That which is called ecclesiasticall is so wholly estated in
the

the persons of Church gouernours, as that if there were no ciuill Magistrate in the world, yet would and ought they to claime and shew their authority and power: if according to the true ends and vses thereof (hereafter more particularly to be set downe) the Church shall iudge it fit or necessary so to be awarded. And no ciuill power hath any more to doe with it, then (as the latest exceptor and pleader himselte against many things therein confesseth and proueth by the authority of Bishop *Horne* and Doctor *Bilson*, both reuerend fathers of one Sea in our Church) it hath to doe with making ministers, consecrating Churches, *immediate making of Church Canons* for doctrine, & cases of conscience administration of the word and Sacraments, and such like, which *some princes of this kingdom* and all other wisely possessed with the truth of these matters, haue euermore disclaimed. Howbeit for the other which concerne first the bodies, and outward estates and condition whatsoeuer of any, and secondarily and consequently the soule and inward man, and so also respect for the most part the outward peace of the common state both ecclesiasticall and ciuill, they all must haue their consideration, determination, and proper place accordingly, as proceeding first from ciuill power, may be intended or remitted, continued, suspended, or changed, and sometimes exercised or inhibited by ciuill magistrates, soueraigne or subordinate. Of which sort I make all temporall punishments, commutation of penance, outward shame, and all other bodily afflictions (whereof notwithstanding that of being giuen ouer to Satan, some haue made one, albeit belonging to the Church power alwayes in such cases, and that in the highest degree) wherein through the affliction of the flesh in any kinde, meanes may better be procured and applied for the sauing of the soule in the day of the Lord Iesus: 1. ad Corin. Cap. 5. v. 5. The difference and true distinction whereof may appeare by these speciall notes: first that Ecclesiasticall excommunication and all things concurring thereunto, so farre foorth as they are meerly ecclesiasticall, concerne the soule and the meanes to recover any

Author of late assertions for Church Discipline.

In the prefaces to certaine Injunctions made in Henry 8. and Elizabeth their raignes.

Erastus out of some of the fathers.

any secure or desperate sinner, and withall to preferue any other, or the whole Church from any further annoyance, spirituall infection, or any kind of preiudice thereby: but the other respect first the body and outward man, and afterward happily are made profitable and applicable to the soules of any. Secondly, that which we call, for better order and instruction sake, ciuill *haue* their ground and originall (whatsoeuer they are) from the other power which is called ciuill magistracy, as the other touching the soule, the inward and spirituall seruice of God, the peace of conscience and such like, belonging vnto this censure, proceede from the rites and investitures of that other order called priesthood, power of keyes, ecclesiasticall magistracy, or what els besides it be called, swaruing not from the trueth of the matter it selfe: which for it part must alwayes doe that which belongeth thereunto, in this and all other offices, although there were no Christian Magistrate in the world; and doth also exercise the same (according as they see it most fit and correspondent to the ends aboue named) in all places, where the foote of violence from any part of the secular power incombred not, but rather (as they ought to kisse the Sunne in that one sense and behalfe) protest and maintaine the rights, power and priuiledges of the same. Thirdly, those proceedings herein which are meerly ciuil, or mixt sometimes of both, according to their seuerall ends, authors, and originals, doe principally, and for the most part, respect the common policy of the whole State, and that which is Ciuil as well and more particular many times, as that which is Ecclesiasticall, albeit they ought to agree in all things together, as *Hippocrates* his Twinnes. All which might be shewed in the manifold particulars, which in the vse of this censure, haue been added, partly by the ciuill Magistrate, and further inuented by the immediate Gouvernours, vnder the allowance of the chiefe magistrate of seuerall Churches, for the better strengthening, and more orderly and profitable executing this or any other censure, which any iudicious reader may referre euery one (as they are not vnknown, by reason

of their common practise in the world) to their proper place, and one of those three heads of this our last diuision. To which I desire this one thing to be adioyned, before I come to the more particular definition of this Excommunication: namely, that albeit this censure doth properly and euermore of right, belong to the power of the Church and immediate gouernment of soules: yet can no such power exercise any part of outward gouernment, or more publique administration whatsoeuer, within the territories and dominions of any ciuill magistracy, without the speciall good allowance or indulgence, at the least, of the chiefe magistrate there, which in all places of setled and well ordered gouernment, appertaineth to the ciuill power: which God in the example and type of *Iudah*, among the tribes hath made the onely lawe-giuer. Insomuch as no due execution of any other their owne most proper proceedings, can bee well performed without their helpe and assistance: which caused the due vse of this censure to be so rarely, and indeed weakly exercised in the primitiue Church, and many other Churches of later times, before ciuill magistrates were christned, or this ciuill power did vnder-take the protection of the Church, or at least gaue way and liberty for the full execution of all Ecclesiasticall powers, which hath beene very much curbed and scanted by most Christian Princes in the world. Much lesse doe we arrogate any secular power and command, to be originally and properly in the persons or states meerly ecclesiasticall, albeit one and the selfesame man or state, may very lawfully, and ought sometimes necessarily to be armed and furnished with them both (as *Luther* himselfe learnedly sheweth, and elsewhere we haue examined, that as the ciuill magistrate sometimes hath been a priest, so contrarily may Gods minister be a king, or of any other electiue dignity: the same man, but not the same person, which are distinguished euermore, but may concur both in one subiect) but that the enacting of lawes, creating of magistrates, citations, Iudiciall proceedings, and punishments accordingly, haue their first beginning and warrant

*In Epistola re-
sponsua ad Me-
lancthonem:
Et in postilla ad
Epiphaniam de
Magis.*

*Bodin. de repub.
& in Methodo
historiarum.*

also from the ciuill sword: yea the very outward forme of gouernment, by which that part of the Church, which is committed to any ciuill Magistrate (who is truly termed of our later Deuines, the keeper and maintainer of both tables) commonly called Church discipline is to be administred, and vnder which (be it one or other) any of these Church affayres are to be established, procured and executed, dependeth wholly vpon the will and authority of the chiefe magistrate in any estate, as himselfe may iudge fittest for the due ordering of the same, most agreeable to the ciuill body, and conuenient and profitable for the whole state, Alwayes provided that the essentiall and mayne points expressed in the word, or the necessary consequents belonging to any person, cause, or calling in these Ecclesiasticall administrations, be in no part abolished, interrupted or diminished; which is all that we challenge in this Excommunication, or any other such power, priuiledge, or censure from any ciuill magistrate in the world. The summe and definition whereof, according to the premises (I meane this Excommunication from the visible Church, by order of wholsome Lawes ecclesiasticall or ciuill, according to the true nature thereof commaunded and expressed in the word of God) may for our better proceeding to the points that follow, be thus set downe. Namely, to be that censure of the Church, which proceeding from the power of the keyes, is awarded against notorious offenders vnder any forme or meanes, by those persons onely whome any Church shall thinke best to depute and assigne to take knowledge of all causes deseruing the same, and to giue sentence according to the nature thereof against any persons offending therein. Which although in regard of the extent thereof, and quality of the crimes and persons offending and incurring this censure, it hath beene diuided or rather distinguished by some such circumstantiall differences of time, longer or lesser while, places, of and in the Church or Churchyards, or such like; yet for summe and substance (I hold them all one,) as by the true ends & scope of all those kinds afore named, or at any
time

*Definitio Ex-
communicationis
a visibilibus ecclesiis.*

time vsed by the Iewes themselues , or any other in their Church gouernments, shall more speciallly be shewed in the next Chapter.

CHAP. II.

Comprising the true end and scope of all the kindes and differences of Excommunication aboue named, with some little infusion of gnomical Diuinity, touching one speciall point for proceeding thereby, against some kind of persons, after their confessions and often absolutions thereupon.



THE ends therefore of all those kinds of Excommunication, which haue beene recited in the former Chapter (as appertayning any way to the Church power and authority) concerne either the common good, or auoiding any euill and imminent daunger in any particular Church : which by suffering any notorious offender vncensured, or scandalously to rest among them, might by euill example or further infection be much annoyed, and suddenly subuerted: or els the priuate duty and care the Church, sa a louing mother, & the ministers thereof their spirituall Fathers; ought to haue , for the regaining and recovering any from their irrepentance, and more speciall foule sinnes, as also by true confession of some occasions and occurrents thereunto, vpon their receiuing againe into the Church, to preserue them from further daungers : and to prescribe them remedies and directions for afterward . And indeede more good is like to be done toward the most part of sinners vpon their confessions and absolutions after these censures, then we see come to passe, or likely to be effected, by our ordinary and generall preaching . The common ground of all which may be obserued, especially in the latter inuentions for bodily and more sensible punishments, to haue proceeded from the strange corruption and fleshly mindes of all mankind for the most part, with whome all other meanes of exhortations, ad-

monitions, reprehensions, promises, or threatnings for the time to come, and such like will little preuaile, except some present, sensible, temporall afflictions, inward or outward, be adioyned thereunto: and therefore not onely meanes of grieffe, feare, and shame, but other also more neere and outward punishments vpon their goods, bodies, and good names for euer, haue beene deuised and appointed, to driue them to confesse and leaue their sinnes, and by the affliction of the flesh (as saint *Paul* teacheth) in what kind soeuer, to recouer and saue the soule, in the day of Christ Iesus his iudgement: wherein the Church dealeth as God himselfe is wont with hard hearted and irrepentant sinners, whome when all other meanes faile, he afflicteth for no other end but their owne saluation, with many inward and outward plagues and iudgements. In all which temporall and outward afflictions, this one thing ought euermore to be regarded by those that haue the awarding of them, that such particular meanes in this kind may euer bee applied, as whereby the offenders might more sensibly be touched: and not to punish the richer ones by the purse, which they little regard; and the poorer with shame and bodily chastisements, which they are wel hardned to indure: but rather contrariwise, that so at the least, they may be brought into order of outward gouernment, if not to the inward reforming of themselues, and so by true and vnfaigned confession to God and man, to be restored againe to the inuisible Church: which all the parts and kinds of these latter excommunications aime at, and serue vnto. For so indeed this confession, and absolution thereupon, is one of the chiefe and true ends of this the greatest censure of excommunication, and all the meanes and parts thereof, as might appeare by those hard places in the 6. and 10. to the *Hebrewes*, and the 18. of *Matthew* (if they be thoroughly looked into, and well compared together) as also by the practises of the Iewes themselues, to the which some of those places at the least are referred, and by the same (as the practises of those times) for the most part to be expounded: who were not only armed for their Ecclesiasticall estate with great

great authority, but had further power to inflict corporall punishments, which the Romanes themselves would not altogether abrogate, nor much alter. According to whose practise, and proportion of truth, touching this argument contained in the former places, one speciall point touching confession, and absolution thereupon (but especially the exercising of this highest censure in some cases, and against some persons) I thinke fit and necessary to be vnfolded: for the Iewes themselves had not only their Consistory, wherein this Church power was exercised (which *Math. 18.* is termed by the name of the Church) and Saint *Paul* would haue disordered noted persons carried thither (by which nothing els can be meant but this Church power (we now speak of) resting in the hãds & executiõ of them to whom any particular Church shal commit the same for the time:) but also (as *Elias Lenita* reporteth & might easily be gathered out of the old Testament (but that others haue eased me of that labour of late) and out of *Berteram* also and *Sigoniũ*, they proceeded diuersly by outward and temporall punishments, according to the nature and quality of their faults. Which against some persons, and in some cases, was so farre extended, as that they were neuer receiued into the outward fellowship of the Church againe, or at the least had not the sentence of absolution publicly and (*quoad forum externum*, as we say) affoorded vnto them: as by the three words vsed by the Iewes, to expresse three kinds of Excommunication may plainly be gathered. By the first whereof they remoued more grieuous and obstinate sinners from the rest of that Church; by the second they inflicted and awarded some more grieuous punishment, which might stick by them, as we say, and euen pierce them to the heart and bones (as themselves expound the word:) but the third did Anathemize them to a perpetuall separation, wherein they should remain vnto their death. Which last I take it, was only meant of these outward meanes in Church gouernment, and no way respecting *forum internum*, or any ones interest, at the least, for euer in the inuisible Church: but that therein any

Quod gnomicum esse volo.

2. Th. ssal. 3. cap. vers. 14.

In his Dictio-
nary called
Ihsobites.
*De politia Iu-
dana.*

Nidni. נִידְנִי

Cherem. כֶּרֶם

Shemashah. שְׁמַשָּׁה

Iustitiae.

Caietanus in ter-
tiam partem
Summe.

Nazianzen ex
Aulpo Euphrasii
Hieronymus Epist.
Aug. lib. 20.
contra Iulianum
Pelagianum.
Confession our
daily Baptisme.

private minister, or member of that Church besides, might
(yea ought) to deale by all good meanes for their confirmati-
on againe, and recovery: and so that place in Saint Paul, 1. Cor.
16. vers. 22. concerning *Anathema Maranatha* (vntill the
Lord come) is to bee vnderstood of all those that should, as
Hebr. 10. vers. 26, by their wilfull and more then voluntary
rebellion (as I may so speake) and returning vnto their olde
sinnes, make but a sport and scorne of this Excommunication
and absolution, and euen tread vnder their feete the bloud
of the Lord Iesus, then the which nothing could be more de-
spightfull to the spirit of grace, which by this special meanes
and ministry of the Church, offereth such reconciliation, for
whome the Apostle there witnesseth, that there remaineth no
more such sacrifice for that their sinne, as vnto whome *He-
brewes* 6. vers. 4 it were not conuenient (as some expound the
Greek word *ἀδύνατος*) that this kind of repentance or penance a
part for the whole, or the consequēt for all (which the Schools
and some of the fathers call second Baptisme or absolution)
should be any more offered, by which they might be renew-
ed, that is, receiued any more into the visible Church: which
places to be vnderstood and expounded of that inward gift
and grace of true repentance, which ioyneth alwayes certain-
ly and inseparably to God, and the inuisible Church, were a-
gainst the whole course, tenour and purport of holy Scrip-
tures, which promise reconciliation at all times and admit-
tance againe to euery truly repentant sinner into the inuisible
Church, whereof God onely and no mortall man can iudge
or discerne. Howsoeuer in the cases before named, they whom
such matters do concerne (the Gouvernours in any part of the
visible Church) are taught and enioyned by the places before
cited, to keepe this order and decorum; because otherwise
there would be no order or distinction at all, but the bloud of
Christ together with this censure, and all other holy admini-
strations would infinitely be prophaned of all desperate sin-
ners; who would make no more of this matter, but to sinne
and be absolued againe: which were not onely troublesome
to

to the ministers, but much more prejudiciall to the peace and safety of any Church; and therefore God himselfe is said, *Heb.* 12. vers. 17. in the matter of *Eſau* his refusall, and putting off from his birthright, that he found at Gods hands nor his fathers (then Gods immediate minister in this behalfe) any place for repentance: that is, for the recovery of that outward fauour (which yet was a further pledge and Sacrament, as it were of better things) for of his speciall saluation (as no man can iudge) so this place hath no meaning. And more especially for *Cain* his marke, about which the learned write and differ so much, and driving from Gods face, as neuer to be admitted againe into the visible Church, howsoeuer for procreations sake God (the only Iudge then Ecclesiasticall & Ciuil) spared his life. And indeed so farre is this place, or any of the other before alledged, or any where to be found in the old or newe Testament, from giuing any signes or directions to any particular persons, or Church in generall to take knowledge, or giue iudgement of any to haue committed the sinne against the holy Ghost, as that (I thinke) no humane censure hath euer had any warrant or permission from any part of Gods word so much as to inquire, or to take any knowledge thereof; being only known to God himselfe as abouesaid, who alone knoweth who they be that will continue in finall impenitency vnto the end. Howbeit for that other exposition, besides these former examples of the Iewes, and God himselfe in the cases of *Cain* and *Eſau*, it may be obserued to be the practise of all politique proceedings, such as this practise & particular in Excommunication is: in which it is most solemne and generall, not to suffer their fauours, pardons, and indulgences too often to be abused; for so we see that notorious offenders formerly branded for their often outrages, are not permitted by our Lawes to claime the benefit of common pardons. So in the second booke of the Institutions for the Canon law, *Cap. de remission. & penitentijs: Solemnis penitentia, ve discesat Ecclesie autoritas, iterari non debet:* and Saint *Paul* himselfe commaunded *Titus*, cap. 3. vers. 10. to giue ouer (as the Greeke word importeth)

Hagisu.

Autonvins
r.

porteth) reasoning or dealing in this kind, with any foule heretick, after certaine admonitions and censures vsed for his recouery: being *Autonvins*, as in the same place aboue named. And so much for the true and proper ends of Excommunication, with the speciall kinds and degrees thereof: Now follow certaine questions in the next Chapter to be considered of, which happely may better explaine some things in these former chapters, which yet haue beene purposely set downe for the more easie discerning and full discussing of the same.

CHAP. III.

Containing answers to certaine questions and obiections, made by diuers of these times, against some particulars in the managing and executing this great censure of Excommunication.



THE questions vsually made and objected diuersly, by the manifold exceptors against the truth and power of this Excommunication, may be reduced to these speciall heads, as they follow in order to be handled. First, how farre this censure (as it is Ecclesiasticall) may extend it selfe; being, as some merry gentlemen and quaint Lawyers of latter time haue in reproche thereof cast foorth, a bottomlesse gulfe, which they nor any other could euer sound, nay yet the originall and ground from whence both it and all Episcopall power do proceed, especially as they are exercised now adayes in most places of the world. To which I answer, first, that if they could be as wel contented to giue vnto Christ that which is his by the power of the spirituall sword (which should cause this acknowledgement) as they are enforced by temporal Lawes and power to giue vnto *Cesar* that which is due vnto him, they would neuer occupy their heads, and tongues with such questions sauoring strongly of disdain and enuie, if not palpable ignorance, in this cleere light of the Gospel:

the Gospell: for in a word this power of theirs is as well from
 about as any other subordinate power vnder Christ, who
 being the great Bishop of soules, hath appoinred his holy mi-
 nistry, and annoynted them with speciall grace and power
 for the gouernement of soules by all those outward meanes of
 dispensing the word in any kind or manner, giuing the sacra-
 ments, admitting into the Church vpon confession and ac-
 knowledgement of the true faith, and shutting out for the re-
 nouncing the same, abso'uing and receiuing them againe vp-
 on repentance professed, and such like in any of the parts of
 this Excommunication besides, which God hath made pro-
 per to this function (as hath beene aboue declared.) And so
 not only that speciall power and commission to deale with
 the conscience and inward man in all matters appertayning
 to the visible Church, is appropriated to this ministry: and e-
 uery particular annoynted with the least part of that holy oile,
 but also a kind of externall power and iurisdiction, properly
 also Ecclesiastical, respecting all the meanes abouesayde, and
 all other things which directly and immediatly concerne the
 soule, and the meanes for the peace, safety, and well ordering
 the same in the kingdome of grace, and preparing and fitting
 them for the kingdome of glory. Instance and euident proote
 whereof, is afforded in this one practise, for many others, of
 the primitiue Church: in which these Church gouernors only
 tooke knowledge and care of all those that gaue their names
 vnto Christ, and were thereupon after confession of the faith,
 admitted into the ranke and order of their *Catechumens*, and so
 after ward were reckoned in the number of the visible Church
 (as Saint *Augustine* confesseth of himself:) who also afterwards
 falling from that faith, or not liuing worthy of the same, after
 all good meanes vsed (as is specified more particularly by our
 Saviour Christ, *Mat. 18. v. 17.* and was alwayes in force in the
 primitiue Church, as by *Heb. 10.* & other places may be gathe-
 red) and yet persisting in that their ynworthinesse of such a
 fellowship, were returned backe againe by the same power of
 the Church vnto their former estate: and were no otherwise

accounted of then as if they were Publicans or Heathen: *Mat.* 18.v.17. that is, such as had nothing to doe with that speciall Church of the Iewes which was the onely Church visible at that time. The like may be sayd of all decrees and constitutions, made by the immediate gouernours of any particular Church, for the determining of all controuerfies, and expounding of Scriptures according to the rules of faith and manners; and their speciall prescribing meanes and directions to penitents, and such like (as Physicians are wont to their patients) and giuing orders for the safe keeping of the doctrine of faith and manners, and the preventing of all things contrary to the same, commonly procured by hereticks and schismatics. Wherein also that their power for the vrging of Subscription, proceeding from this of Excommunication to all things set downe by them not contrary to the generall rules of faith and manners, consisteth and appeareth (as is further declared in the next treatise.) In which respect Saint *Paul* gaue such charge in so many places vnto *Timothie* for the carefull keeping of that depositum and forme of wholsome wordes: *1. Tim.* 6.v.20. And *Reuel.* 2.ver. 14. and 15. God requireth it of the Angell, and none other (who by all mens confession representeth the Church power in that place) that the doctrine of *Balaam*, and of the *Nicholaitans*, and the heretickes themselves, were not repressed by him and that Ecclesiasticall power, whereof that Angell was head and superintendent, by such meanes of admonition, confutation, conviction, and so consequently (if neede required) Excommunication: which are euer more proper to the Church care and power. Albeit in that infancy of the Church in all places there was a great mixing of both powers (as appeareth by the Apostles themselves) who called Councils in their owne name, for the better strengthening that their weake state and beginnings, strooke some with temporal punishments, and with death also in some cases: which also vntill Christian Magistrates did protect and maintayne this power, rights and authority of the Church, was practised in many places after the Apostles time, wheresoeuer the

the violence of persecuting tyrantes did not restrayne the Church liberty in this behalfe: which is wont, and so iustly may, yea ought indeede (as well as any other incorporation left vnto it selfe) to make Lawes, or dayne Magistrates, punish offenders, and such like, whereby that their state may bee better ordered and preserued. Howbeit, which in the second place I answer and is euermore to bee remembred (according as wee haue also obserued before) no power whatsoever properlie belonging to the Church, or els annexed by any meanes thereunto, can be exercised in any part of the world, vnder ciuill Magistracy, without the authority or good leaue at the least of the commaunders therein: nor any Lawes made or ratified without assent and leaue of the ciuill power: as vnder which, and from which all other Externall power hath all his outward motion, as the most principall members of any naturall body vnder their proper head: as all Christian Churches doe acknowledge the ciuill magistrate in all causes supreme head and gouernour (howsoever that word Head without any such iust cause, (I thinke) hath beene of late misliked of some) euen as many good Popes also, before that chayre of pestilence was fully seated amongst them, did call the Emperors of their times, their gracious Lords. And yet notwithstanding as the other principall parts of the body (the Liuer for example) hath immediate motion and operation from it selfe, as well as that other from the head, and as the inferiour orbes of the Stars and circles of heauen are moued as well by theyr owne naturall courses as by that generall motion which is obserued to carry all other with it, and vnder it: so is it in this entercourse of politike administrations, Ecclesiasticall and ciuill, both interchaungeably compared and considered together: neither may the proper orders and proceedings of the one be truly sayde to be any more preiudiciall or contrary to the other, then the Liuer in his proper operations to the heart or head, from which it hath his continuall life and motion: whereas the God of nature hath in his wisdom and prouidence diuersly disposed of them in that general communion (their pro-

Beda lib. 1. cap.
23. de Gregorio
Mag. 3. ad Man-
viciu. & lib. 2.
cap. 18. Honorius
ad Hieronim.

2.Chro.26.
vers.18,

1.Reg.2.v.35.

pag.77.78.
Late assertions
for Church
discipline.

perties and functions evermore reserved to themselves) as that
stout and wise high Priest tolde *Variah* how it appertained
not vnto him to meddle in any part of the Priest his office:
howsoever in other things they were subiect vnto them, euen
vnto their placing and displacing: and indeede here is no
more in effect, then as householders rule in the house, and mar-
tiall men for their orders of warre, which yet I hope no way
withstand that other which we call the chiefe power. To which
purpose also is that other straine, and further extent of this ca-
uill, that any such power should be warranted by God, and so
allowed to bee in force vnder any wel ordered government:
wherein the ciuill and chiefe Magistrate hath nothing to doe
for the discerning and awarding thereof; much lesse to haue
power and authority to repeate or reuerse the same, and so to
restore any person censured thereby of this kingdome, to for-
rain Ecclesiastical power of law (as it is thought.) In somuch as
one of the daintiest practisers of these dayes, in a sad and sober
conference had with some of our grauest, did cast it out (I
cannot tell how) that he could neuer sound the depth and my-
steries of Episcopall Iurisdiction in generall, and of these pro-
ceedings for Excommunication in speciall. And more plainly
and grossly our late pleaders, as well for their innocents (as they
terme them) and as I may truly call the other very sinfull
assertions for their new discipline, haue made both the power
it selfe, and much more the due practise and exercise thereof
very dangerous for any estate, and most preiudiciall to the
royall prerogatiues, yea the very Crowne and dignity (as they
most ignorantly, slanderously (if not indeede blasphemously
haue obiected) of Christian Princes, making it the
greatest meanes for Antichrist his clyming so high, and the
very stirrop to the Pope his mounting into his saddle. To all
which, albeit I haue answered somewhat in a larger treatise
(which I purposed should haue bene the elder brother, but
that this like rough *Esau* hath for iust and good cause (I hope)
hastned formost, and preuented the other, which was euen rea-
dy to come forth first, and like vnto *Iacob*, may holde this
elder

elder by the heele:) yet must I briefly adioyne somewhat to that which hath beene a little before answered in this behalfe, that may more directly quench, if not kill the heate and venome of these poysonfull proiectes and problematicall diuelish obiections. First therefore they might as well except against the ministry of the word and Sacraments, the Ordination, or degrading of ministers, consecrating of Churches, and such like many more; which as yet none of these exceptors, nor any other durst diuorce from that holy order and power of Priesthood (as without any true offence it may be called) or to make them any way common to any Prince and ciuil power whatsoever. Secondly the heart may as well be arraigned of treason against the head and whole body, as this power of the keyes, and any particular administration thereof may be iudged preiudiciall to the supremacy of Princes, and safety of the whole body, standing quietly of Ecclesiasticall and Ciuil power, and executions sweetely ioyned and combyned together, vnder any kinde of souerainty, or Ciuil Magistracy, which is euermore the head of them both. And lastly, their Lawe and Logicke together very much deceiue them, not onely in making that the cause, which is not the cause, and things accidentally and by circumstance sometimes euil, to bee so euermore, and in their owne nature (which are the vsuall fallations practised by these Sophisters deceiuing themselves and others thereby:) but also (which argueth their greatest ignorance, or forgetfulnesse at the least in this point) pleading from that (which is cleane contrary) to argue this encumbring and encountring of Princes iust titles and royall dignities, as the proper effect of the same. For indeed this Excommunication (especially as it was vsed by those masters of the Romish Church) was one of the greatest engins & meanes to batter downe the walls and strong holdes of Antichristian prelacy, and power, when Princes and all the world once perceiued that those many Bulls roared for nothing els but to get preies for the filling of their owne bellies, and feeding the ambitious humours of those vsurping and presumptuous

Prelates. And for the thing it selfe in it owne nature, there is no one thing belonging to Ecclesiasticall power, or which might possibly be inuented in the world, which might sooner distast Princes, or any part of the ciuill body, and more likely to withdrawe them from protecting all or any of the Church rightes, then the due execution of this censure. In regard whereof, together with these confused and troubled times (wherewith the Church hath beene and is, for the most part, still annoyed and incumbred) the due and constant vse of this Excommunication, eyther hath beene obserued to haue been seldome practised in any Church: or els haue the wisest gouernours of the same not thought it fit or conuenient, many times, to drawe out this spirituall sword, and censure so often as otherwise the necessity and safety of their seuerall Churches might require. And for the abuses which proceeded from the persons to whome this censure hath beene at any time committed, and not from the thing it selfe: whereas for want of skill happely and good wisdom, how and when this speciall physicke was to be applyed (as *Erasmus* himselfe obserueth, who had more learning and iudgement, euen in this physicke also and true diuinity, then hundreds of these late pleaders, and from whome this last dramme of mischief was drawne into the Pennes and pleas of these pettifoggers and promoters) they doe no more argue the vnlawfulnesse of this power, or disable the true, wise, and round vse thereof, then if a senselesse although a golden sword appointed euermore for the highest Iustice, should be misliked, and most senselessly indicted and condemned for that murder, which a foole and mad man had committed by it. To all which kinds of reasoning and such like obiections and framers of them, I could wish better skill to construe their Lawe, or choppe our Logicke (as we say) then for want of this latter (which with due reuerence alwayes to that graue profession, any may obserue to bee much wanting in those Scribes, especially when they are out of that their Element, and put a little from their owne pace) to misse very much in their right vse and application of the former,

and

and other their rich naturalls and further accomplishments, wherewith for the most part they are well qualified and endowed : for many Lawyers (as I may say, truly with reverence and respect as abovesayd) of most of them, would dispute as well as any if they knew how : and for the last pleader of all, who hath beene a great and long practiser in that bad and blacke Court (by cunning libelling against all our Ecclesiasticall power and proceedings, and not long since hath drawne all his Lawe and Logicke (which I thinke may be put in a little bagge, or at the least weighed in a small ballance) together with the slime and froth of his hote and malicious wit to the fortifying of a rotten mud wall reared by another pleader almost as bad as himselfe) I cannot but in holy zeale (I hope) to this good cause and most holy censure of Christs Church, and iust indignation against all such vnskilfull reformers of Ecclesiasticall abuses, and wilfull deformers indeede of all good order, crie out with *Peter to Simon Magus*, and all such enuious spirits and despirefull lookers vpon any that haue greater guifts and authority then themselves: Thou, thy Law and thy Logicke perish together, for they haue no part (I am sure) nor portion in these busineses, and lesse authority or calling to speake or write against any thing possible amisse therein: and I feare (I may too too truly adde the other) that theyr hearts are not vpright in them, but that vnder colour of calling vpon the vrging and mayntaining of many good Lawes, and constitutions amongst vs, and vnder pretence of rendring Princes supremacy (which if any should presume to breathe or blowe against, I wish them from my heart breathlesse) to establish an yron and Macedonian throne for themselves, vnder which they would soone bondage and bring both Medes and Persians, and the golden head it selfe of any kind of gouernment, as al know their intendmets, who are any way acquainted with their positions, resolutions and practises about their new discipline, which they forsooth call Christ his lore and yoke, vnto which all Christ his true members must submit themselves. Which indeed is no other (especially

Author of the
Assertions for
Church Discipline.

Nichols Countermure.

as they meane it for this poynt and argument, which wee haue in hand) but the new fangled deuices of their owne discontented and ambitious spirits : as in the examination of the second part of this first obiection, which now followeth, shall better and more fully I hope appeare . For vnder that more large question touching the original and due bounds of Excommunication, commeth another more speciall and subordinate, very much vrged and delighted in, by many : how far Princes themselves are subiect to this censure , or any other person or persons, or whole states sometimes of like condition, quality and consideration: the which being diuersly propounded and intended by these two late pleaders (the one exempting Princes altogether from all and euery part (as it seemeth) of this Excommunication, (as may bee gathered by his owne words:) the other vrging, especially herein, the abuse of it in his conceipt by some, to whome (which he so much misliketh) that is impropriated which in his iudgement should be common to all Ministers of the Gospel : and that so far forth (as was obserued by a graue counsellor of our state, by that which was put vp in petition sometimes by those innocents his clients) that by their rules the pastor of Greenewitch might excommunicate Queene *Elizabeth* so worthily famous throughout the world in those dayes. And indeed being neuer agreed vpon by those new Doctors themselves, nor scarce any other of later times it may be allowed very worthy our paines to enquire further into it, albeit we come short of any full conclusion, or final determination of the same: the rather, for that our Lawyerlike exceptor ouercarried with malice and desire , to charge our Bishoppes with some foule and greate imputation thereupon , seemeth to haue forgotten the first principles of their comon profession herein, or at the least forsake the graue iudgement of their renowned masters, and founders of their new Discipline, crying out very lowdly, and challenging all confidently in this manner: Who and where they are of their opinion and faction, which hold that princes may be excommunicated? Whereas besides the generall opinion of them all

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Nichols in his
plea for innocents, pag. 51.
& 52.

Author of the
Assertion for
true and Christian Church-
policy, pag. 327

displayed in the petition abovesayde, and discerned by that honourable counseller, and elswhere expressed in their disciplinarian assertions, apologeticall writings and conclusions, that their Oracle may speake as the mouth of them all, what their iudgement and desire is for this question: who little regarding the troublefomnesse of those times (wherin that worthy prelate sate at the sterne of our Ecclesiasticall gouernment) and lesse discerning (as it may seeme) the mysteries of any such politique administration, and particulars belonging to so weighty a censure & proceeding, especially against such persons as Princes are, &c: was not ashamed to terme the Lord Archbishop of *Caunterbury* then being, as the bawd to Princes & other greate Magistrates sins, in case they were not excommunicated, as his wisdom with the Senate of his associates did iudge oftentimes meete and necessary. And another adds further in this point, that Princes must not be flattered in their sinnes: and therefore this censure must be inflicted vpon them as well as vpon any other. But (leauing them to themselues) I thus answer to the particulars of this obiection as they glance and glide on both sides of this Excommunication, and are directed by the former exceptors and many other, against the truth and nature of the same: First, that as for that Excommunication from the inuisible Church, whereby any Minister pronounceth according to the rules of Gods word, of any, to be in the state of grace or otherwise: it and all the parts and degrees of it agree as well to the Prince, and any other such like person or state, as to any other that hath a soule to saue, and so standeth in neede of faith, repentance, confession, and absolution, necessary, requisite, and tending thereunto: because in Christ Iesus, and matters of soules gouernment, Christian liberty and such like, there is neither bond nor free, as *Col. 3. v. 11*. Secondly for that which we call, from the visible Church, so far forth as it is meere Ecclesiasticall, euery Prince and Potentate is as wel lyable vnto it as any other: because the care and charge of their soules is no lesse vpon the gouernors of the Church, but rather much more then for any other: and

Sir Walter Mieldman.

Master Cartwright, part 2. reply pag. 65. Bishop Whitgift.

Pag. 92. vbi supra.

Demonstration of Discipline, pag. 75.

Casus reservati.

also their finnes and examples are commonly more infectious and dangerous then other mens . And lastly, it were not onely a great profanation of all those holy things dayly offered to such polluted and vncleane soules, but a greate cruelty also and carelesnesse at the least, in those that should be soules-fauers and physicians, to suffer any vnder their diet, ordering, and cure to surfet themselues, and surcharge their soules with new finnes of taking by this meanes Gods name in vaine, polluting his sanctuary eating and drinking their owne damnation, and such like : before by confession and true repentance outwardly testified, at the least (which is as much as any man can require and discerne) they haue discharged themselues of their ould finnes as noxious humors in a foule stomacke; which eftsoones otherwise would break out into many aguish hore and cold fies (as *Augustine* calleth them) of other finnes, and dayly symptoms of Gods iudgements. Howbeit in this second kind of Excommunication there are certaine cases referred, and speciall rules euermore to be obserued for the execution of it, which may fit vs in some better and further answer to this point. As first, that because the safety of many, and the common peace of the whole Church is alwayes to be respected and preferred before any meanes for the saluation of a few, or of the Prince himselfe, in such times as by the Excommunicating of some Prince, or others of great power, or els some whole faction which might breed commotion in the Church or whole state (commonly noted and called by *turbidis temporibus*) this censure may very well, yea ought to be forborne, as in all other of that nature, which may preiudice, rather then helpe and further the peaceable gouernement of the Church, and sauing of soules in generall. For which ends this censure was first inuented by God, or man, and all things appertaining thereunto, and wholly are, and ought to be referred. Secondly, where the forbearing of this censure, or at the least some higher degree thereof, may bee perceiued by the wisdom of the Church to make most for the regaining of any, who might otherwise haply bee hardned and discouraged, if not in some tender

tender minded people swallowed vp with sorrow thereby: as Saint Iude seemeth to imploy vers. 22. & 23: commaunding to put this wise difference, taking pittie of some, and pulling o-ther some out of the fire, according also to that generall rule (which may be the ground of both these answers) 2. Cor. 13. v. 10: God hath giuen this power to saue, and not to destroy: and so vpon Mat. 13. v. 29. the learned haue obserued three bad kinds of Excommunication comparatiuely to those e-radications there spoken of: *Festinata, Suspiciosa, Damnosa*: which they thus expound (namely) *damnosa Excommunicatio quando multitudo est in causa, vel princeps, nisi fuerit causa manifesta redundans in iniuriam ecclesie*: as Saint Augustine obserueth the same, *quod aliquando sunt tolerandi mali pro pace ecclesie, quando timeatur de schismate*, adding, *aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod sustinemus*. For so may this Excommunication be well and fit-ly likened vnto a sword or physick, which are neuer to be vsed but vpon great occasion: and when those that haue skill how to vse them see it fit and needfull, especially for this strongest kind of potion (as I may so terme it) which onely is to be vsed in desperate diseases. And therefore the gouernours of the Church & immediate ministers and awarers of this censure, respecting with a wise eye and foresight, when this physicke and last remedy may be profitable & behouefull, obserue ma-ny times that milder meanes of more graue and temperate ad-monitions and increpations to serue turne towards some per-sons, to whome being wise (as the prouerb is) a word may be sufficient, and many times better then this great blowe of Ex-com-munication. Which further no immediate minister thereof vnder Christ priuately or more publickly in any state-administration is bound continually and without respect or diffe-rence to denounce and put in vse and execution, but as they shall find and iudge it most profitable for that whole Church wherein they are Iudges and Commissioners, or that speciaall person or persons who may incur and deserue the same: which being once discerned and vpon sufficient and mature delibe-ration resolued vpon, it ought to passe against all that liue in

2. Sam. 3. cap.
vers. 39.

Quest. 2.

the Church, princes or potentates, as well as others without respect of persons; except onely (which is the last reseruati-
 on in this case) with strong hand they be openly withstood, or
 iustly feared so to be: which in another kinde was *Dauid* his
 case sometimes, when in his wise foresight and most iust griefe
 and godly indignation withall he cryeth out: The sonnes of
Zeruiah are too strong for me. Lastly (I answer to the second
 part of this grand obiection) that in respect of the last kind of
 Excommunication, which we called for distinction sake, Ciuil.
 (so far soerrh as this censure hath beene at any time strenght-
 ned immediatly by ciuill Lawes and authority, or the gouer-
 nours of any Church themselves haue had any delegate pow-
 er committed vnto them for that purpose) no chiefe Magi-
 strate (how soeuer he be termed in monarchicall or any other
 state) is any further subiect to it, then as himselfe who is the
 fountaine of all externall power, and such kind of proceed-
 ings, shall thinke good for any iust cause and respect, eyther
 of his owne good or peace, or well ordering of his state, to sub-
 mit himselfe thereunto: as the manner of our Kings of England
 is (and euer hath beene) in matters of common iustice to yeld
 themselues to the order of Lawes, as well as other their sub-
 iects, and so are many times impleaded in their owne courts;
 which if they should refuse, no humane power by Gods word
 hath any authority to bring them into order, either of any of
 those Ciuill courts, or those other which for the constitutions
 and processe therein, we haue called Ecclesiasticall. The se-
 cond question and obiection is framed by the selfesame Au-
 thors and sundry others peruered rather then instructed by
 these masters (why this censure of Excommunication, and the
 key of all Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in generall, is not com-
 mon to euery minister, but made proper and peculiar to Bi-
 shops, their Chancellors and Officialls, or any other to whom
 more improperly in their iudgements it doth appertaine. To
 which (I answer) that so far soorth as this Excommunication
 seperateth any from the inuisible Church, it equally still be-
 longeth to euery minister, of what degree and quist soeuer: as
 wel

well as the administration of the word and Sacraments, which are outward meanes in like manner to testifie vnto any their communion or separation from the true Catholike Church; which is onely seene of God: but for the other two later kinds of Excommunication (which are properly politique, and exercised euermore by some company liuing vnder forme and order of Lawes, as all other of that nature, they may no more properly or conueniently belong vnto euery minister, then that euery Citizen should be Ruler and Magistrates at the least in free Citties, or that euery Counsellor or Lawyer should bee Iustice of peace, or that euery one should be the master, father, or first borne : and so beare all kind of rule in euery familie. Whence it is that Christ himselfe, *Matth. 18.* referreth matters criminall and of politique consideration (such as no priuate meanes could reforme) first of all to the Church Discipline, by which (as we haue aboue noted) nothing els can be meant then, that power (in whose hand soeuer for orders sake and better execution, by the designment and appointment of any particular Church it may rest) by which any person or persons shall in the name of the same Churches proceede in this censure or any other of the like nature: as we reade of Saint *Paul*, *1. Cor. 5. v. 4.* and *2. Thess. 3. v. 14.* writing to a certaine company to bee gathered together amongst the rest of the *Corinthians*, for this end and purpose, to take knowledge of such criminall and other kindes of causes, which might require any such Ecclesiasticall censure; and more speciall to the *Thessalonians*, willing disordered persons to be noted by some letter or Epistle, as worthy to be deferred to some further knowledge and iudgement (as without which, such noting and all other Ecclesiasticall obseruing were to smal or no purpose. Wherefore the same Apostle, *1. Cor. cap. 12. v. 28.* speaking of all Church affayres and publique administrations, waketh some to be Gouvernours as well as others to be pastors and teachers of Gods people: *Sic 1. Tim. 5. v. 17. verè, ruling Elders, & sensu vero & genuino.* And herein neuer as yet did any iudicious Diuine stand much vpon it, whether these Church Magistrates

be termed Bishops, Elders, Chauncellors, or by any other such like name or degree (which the Church and chiefe Magistrate shall put in trust and commission for these administrations, so long as the things themselves, and the substantiall poynts for all Ecclesiasticall proceedings be allowed and maintained by euery chiefe Magistrate, as they are proper and euen essentiall to any well ordered Church, and necessarily required by Gods word. And had not God himselfe made this order and difference in all publique and politike proceedings (as by the places aboue named, and many other of the old and newe Testament (which we haue elsewhere vsed for the differences and dignities of Ministers in generall, may appeare) yet common experience, reason and necessity would haue inforced the same, as we may see in all polittique bodies Ecclesiasticall and Ciuil, which haue euer beene in the world: which otherwise through a generall confusion, none ruling, nor any obeying, would fall downe of themselves; as Saint *Paul* saith, if euery member were a head, where were the hand, the feete, the smelling? &c: euen all without order and difference, a monstrous confusion. And therefore these men themselves in their exercising and awarding this high censure or any part of their new deuised pollicy and discipline, reduce all such proceedings to Consistorial throne and iurisdiction, and that in far greater so- ueraignty and peremptory vnreuerseable power, then where- soeuer vnder Christian Magistracy any lawfull Ecclesiasticall body doth execute their iuridictions and power. And herein it differeth not, whether the immediate mannagers and Actu- aries in this Excommunication be good or bad (as the Dona- tists and Anabaptists sometimes excepted against Baptisme it selfe; and some of our homebred Schismatickes, haue often reuiued those quarrells) or els Laickes sometimes, and in some cases, as the next question will better inquire: so long as they haue this externall order and power by lawfull authority vn- der Christian Magistrates put vpon them; because therein they doe not their owne worke or actions (as *Augustine* hath abundantly aunswered against the Donatists) but the speciall functions

functions of the Church: by which they are moued, and in euery particular directed, and no way carried (so farre forth as they performe any Ecclesiasticall seruices) by their owne priuate motions and spirit; as appeareth also in baptisme, ordination of ministers, and many other things appertaining to Ecclesiasticall power and censures. And indeede the summe of this obiection is none other then the demand of Corah and his confederates challenging equall power, and holinesse in this kinde to all the Leuites and ministers in common, which God Num. 16. v. 34. had made then, for the order and gouernment of that Church, proper to the Priests: which is all one with the matter and question we haue in hand For the conclusion whereof I desire all to reade that with iudgement, and to translate the Latine of it into good true English diuinity, or Christian and godly pollicy (if they will) which that graue, learned, and true Christian politician wrote sometimes by way of counsell and Theological determination to certayne like minded with these Questionists & Obiectors: *Et Consistoria ideo constituta sunt ne indocti pastores aut mali dānent homines sine legitima cognitione, sicut manifestum est iracundos pastores sepe hoc modo iniuste turbasse ecclesias. & notum est plurimos pastores ne (circa ordinem cognitionum) satis est pastori (quod ad ministerium & iurisdictionem suam attinet) quando crimen est notorium, admonere reum, & si non obtemperet, arceri eum a communione, &c.* Which special power also is by the wisdom and appointment of our Church, thorough some delegate power left many times in the hands of euery the meanest minister who also for the most part alwayes hath his ministry and vse in the inflicting this censure, and absolving any persons from it. To which the same author addeth the practise and iudgement of other learned men and Churches at that time more directly to this question: *Anno Annum in disputatione Naumbergensis magna contentio fuit inter quosdam, an singuli pastores armandi essent hac potestate, Nominatum, sine cognitione Consistorii excommunicandi aliquos? responderunt autem Dr. Sneppius & Casper Aquila idem quod nos nunc scribimus.*

Melancthon
in Consiliis
theologicis.

Now for the third and last question and obiection, vsually made.

Quæst. 3.

Plea of the Innocent. pag. 49. & 50.

Nichols in his plea pag. 59.

made against the meanes and manner of executing this censure, namely that oftentimes meere Laicks or such (at the least) as were neuer fully admitted into holy orders, doe not onely intermeddle therewith, but haue for the most part the greatest stroke therein : To which (I first answer) that which some of these exceptors and pleaders make contrary vse of, alledging as the truth is, and the order thereof by our Canons and common practise of our Church, that the mayne sentence of Excommunication is euermore reserued to bee denounced by the Bishop, or some other minister: as from whose care and power this whole proceeding doth originally descend, by whome, and by what meanes soeuer it be managed. Which secondly (if it were not so) I answer) that whatsoeuer is performed herein by any such persons, either for the better & more safe preparation to the finall sentence it selfe, or els practised in the very denouncing of the same, are to be accompted for no other then the actions of the sacred ministry it selfe; or, if you will rather speake with (*Cyprian* and *Ierome*, of the Church, and whole power any where established : for so they speake plainly (albeit very impertinently, and as ignorantly cited by one of these grand exceptors against many things in our Church gouernment, and this one we haue in hand amongst the rest) *Clauium potestas non vnus sed vnitati conceditur*. And so indeede the intermedlers herein are not merely Laikes, or wholly Ecclesiasticall, in that behalfe and their assistance herein; or pronouncing this sentence at any time, is no otherwise then as the Clerke of the peace at any commō Sessions doth reade, denounce, or any way assist the Iudges thereof, to whome properly and principally the whole commission is directed. Thirdly, many things incident and especially belonging to this greate censure of Excommunication (as it is now for the most part exercised by any Church) being externall and primarily respecting the bodies and outward estates of the offenders, as also the common peace and externall pollicy of both Church and common wealth together (as we aboue shewed) they are by all reasonable consideration to be mannaged and discuffed

discussed by their proper professors (and best experienced therein . Neither lastly were it meet (as the whole councell of the Apostles conclude) in the like case, that the ministers of the word and Sacraments should attend vpon tables ; or taking knowledge of all criminall causes in this kind and nature . In respect whereof our new masters of their Church policy haue found it very necessary to appoint diuers sorts of lay persons, as Elders, Deacons, Widdowes and such like , making them essentiall parts of all welordered Church policy, according to Acts. 6. v. 2. Christ his word, rules and kingdome, as they say: who yet notwithstanding in the trueth of those termes, being according to the vse thereof in the first Churches, and Paul his mentioning of such kind of helpers: 1. Cor. 12. v. 26. vnder the names of Commissaries, Officials, and Churchwardens reteyned still amongst vs, will by no meanes allowe of such kind of assistance in these speciall causes , which no other can so conueniently consider or determine of . And to end this point (because I haue partly handled it in another treatise also) I desire all indifferent readers to peruse that of *Vrsinus* (generally allowed for a very sound and iudicious Diuine, as most of later time) where he writeth thus: *In Ecclesiastico Iudicio gratia & ira Dei, non sit denunciatio ab uno aliquo privato (qui hoc munus plerunque obire solet) sed a tota ecclesia, vel nomine totius ecclesie, idque ab ijs qui ad hoc electi sunt communi omnium consensu, & ad certas personas* : Which *Tolles* setteth downe more particularly allowing and appointing amongst the persons executing this censure, the Churchwardens sometimes, or other such like Lay persons: but especially I refer all Iudicious readers for their further informatiō in this point to *Panormitanus* that great Clerk, for his Councils and exact skill for all Iudiciall proceedings, vpon the decretalls vnder the title *de Iudicijs* Fol. 9. and in cap. *Decernimus*, and many times in his larger treatises *Ad litteram Laicum*, and title of Excommunication, where he sheweth both the equity and necessity of that we now maintaine.

In Catechismo
de potestate
Clauum.

In functione
sacerdotia.

CHAP. I.

Shewing, that Subscription is not such a heavy and bairrow matter as many would make the world beleave; thereby to draw enuie and obloquie vpon the thing it selfe, and vpon the vrgers of the same.



Feer Excommunication discoursed of in the former treatise, and some questions and difficulties thereabout discussed: In the next place commeth Subscription, not vnfitly to be considered of: which indeed could neuer haue bin called into such question, and such standing out against it would neuer haue beene shewed, if the true power nature, and vse of Excommunication and Church power from which it proceedeth, had been thoroughly knowne and maintained, or at the least, accordingly exercised and enforced amongst vs. And therefore as we haue intreated more largely of the one, so must we also by our order prescribed, not vnfitting I hope the same speake now of this other; the rather because it is one of the maine whites and marks which those bad Archers (with whome my greatest encounter hath beene in a more large field) chiefly ayme and shote at, but with no better successe I hope then as good *Iacob* complaineth of those against *Ioseph*, *Gen. 49.* for the order of which treatise it shall be this: First to set downe the true nature and chiefe ends of subscription; secondly, the long, auntient, and constant vse of it in the Church of God: thirdly and lastly, the great necessity and equity for the vrging thereof at all times, with some speciall reasons thereupon, why it is or ought to be so strictly vrged and required from certaine, liuing vnder this present estate of our Church by the wise and carefull gouernours of the same, and why also those standers out may safely submit and yeelde themselves thereunto. For the first we must shew in the first place

place what it is not, because vpon the misunderstanding and misprision of that which indeed it is not most haue beene driuen from their due reuerence and obedience to those things which by the same are required; wherefore all offended from the vrging thereof at any time must know that the meaning of this subscription is not that euery one so vrged, should peremptorily, and *desistentia*, as we say, auerre and auow by word writing, seale or marke, euery particular thing contayned in the booke of common prayer, and the other particular excepted against, much lesse in all our Homilies, Canons, and constitutions made, or to be enacted hereafter (as some haue objected of late) to be absolutely perfect, according to the exact rule and rigor of the Law, and word of God in generall (as some would haue those haynous words so offensively and tenderly taken (nothing contrary to Gods word) to meane and import: For so we are nothing of humane vse or inuention in the world: much lesse is the nature of it such as vpon the premisses would fall out, whereby mens consciences should be set dayly vpon the racke; and sundry persons vrged thereby to approue vnttruths, and diuers things which cannot possibly be knowne and iustified, or els to be driuen thereby to speake at the same time yea and nay; yea to maintayne many vngodly practises with all, as is most ignorantly (if not maliciously) suggested by one graund late exceptor: for prooffe whereof who seeth not if that should be the meaning, how contrary to the old rule (against which no state proceeding of all other ought to offend) *nemo tenetur ad impossibile*) many impossibilities would appeare at once: for not only the best inuentions of men haue their manifold imperfections and so are against the word in that sense: but euen the best prayers conceiued, or formes thereof prescribed by man, are full of much weakness: yea although they be taken out of the holy Scriptures themselves, being but once vsed by vs require a prayer for pardon therein: wherefore it is that at the end of our Letany (our most solemnne prayers to God) we pray for the forgiuenesse of our ignorances and negligences: which especially escape vs in

Nicholls in his
Plea pag. 102.
and 103.

Contra Iulia-
num Pelagia-
num lib. 2.

Bellarmino and
Whitakers de
Scriptura.

In their late
schedules and
objections a-
gainst subscrip-
tion.

Gods seruice: yea in the Lords prayer it selfe we are taught by our best Master one petition (which Saint *Augustine* calleth our dayly Baptisme) as touching our dayly trespasses, amongst all other to call for the forgiuenesse of those (wherewith euē in repeating, much more no doubt in our best translating that holy prayer we defile our selues, as indeed for the translating hereof (to speake nothing of infinite other) neuer any Papist or Protestant, or any other whatsoeuer, durst chalenge any such absolutenesse of perfection, no not in the very Canon of the Scripture it selfe (as we or any other Church now have them) being only perfect and absolute, as *Bellarmino* himselve confesseth, and our best masters for these matters cānot deny, in their originalls of Hebrew and Greeke (whereto euer also they be) much lesse for the number of their Canons, and euery particular story & sentence therein (as *Ierome* sheweth manifestly in his preface vpon *Iob* and *Daniel*;) whereat notwithstanding so many scruples are made to hinder this subscription by the chiefe captaines of those that impugne the same, and lastly for the translation therof (as I haue also elsewhere shewed) no company will euer be able perfectly to vnderstand many hard textes, which in this life (especially in any one age) can neuer be attained) which is but the first point herein (as *Ierome* sheweth vpon *Daniel*) and no paynes nor tongue, much lesse our English (which is the straightest and most penurious I thinke of all) hath euer as yet, or at any time hereafter wil be able faithfully and fully to expresse many things (which yet haply are none of the hardest.) All which might giue as great a distaste to these men, and cause of scruples, and refusing to subscribe according to their conceiuing and meaning for the vrging thereof, as those particulars instanced in by many; and vniust quarrels against it at these times, which I heare of late certaine learned and iudicious graue writers haue more particularly scanned and satisfied. For indeed their owne nicenesse cause things to seeme harder then they are; and who seeth not how easie a thing it were to find many holes and faults (if any sort of people had warrant curiously to pry into, and vncharitably

ritably to construe in this kind and manner; in the most perfect constitutions or proceedings in this life, neither can I compare these men better to any kind of people then to that bad and basest sort of Lawyers, who lighting vpon any kind of euidences (although neuer so well made) and most sufficient to carry and confirme the true meaning and purposes of the willers, deuisers, and makers thereof; yet will be sure by wrestling and misconstruing, to find some quirke of Lawe in them, whereby to auoide their conueyance, or at the least to giue great trouble to all those that haue any thing to do about them: for euen so it is with these busie examiners and curious pryers into many our state constitutions and proceedings: which being neuer so well deuised and comprised as sufficient meanes for God his seruice and our dueties, as any where els in the world: yet for something or other (which their private fancies and humors cannot rellish and digest) they will neuer, nor can please them; and therefore presently must be against God and many parts of his word: whereas the Heathen in their generation were more modest in the one and more prouident in the other, by not letting euery yong gamester that was not able to iudge aright of such mysteries (as being not wel Grammered and initiated in them) so much as once to peere into these state affayres, much lesse to touch and taunt them for insufficiency, imperfections and errors. And amongst whome that was very solemne and generall, neuer to dispute with them that should deny principles: which also was for good purpose taken vp in one of the late Councils, wherein it was thus enacted: *Contra hereticos non est disputandum*. And if it be well obserued, this is one of the chiefe causes of so little true religion in the world, or at the least due and constant expressing the same, whilst euery one is bold enough (being not curbed with some authority to the contrary) greedily and curiously to spye and censure such infirmities, as are incident to the best humane orders, and euery one will take liberty to carpe against publique proceedings, where there is no cause or error at all many times. Whereas the best state and politick

Nicephorus.
Gregories hist.
lib. 11.

body whatsoeuer is, or can be no better then the temperature and disposition of mans body, which albeit (as the learned in Physick know) when it is at the best, might be reduced haply with much adoe to some better temper and dyet, also for the same purpose; yet doth the knowledge and wisdom of Physicke, obseruing that through the old temper and customeable dyet that body to be kept within some good proportion and latitude of health (as they say) forbear so much as to inquire into some smaller defects, nay hold it not safe being settled once in one temper and courses of dyet answering the same to make or attempt the least alteration therein, notwithstanding they iudge and could wish haply also, that speciall body to be of another, and somewhat better temperature or disposition: like vnto the wisest builder also, which hauing reared a house with great trouble and charge, vpon the discrying of some imperfections afterward (which the best plot and frame is euer blemished withal) doth not by and by altogether mislike it to pull it downe, for such eye-sores and imperfections; but himselfe and all his content themselues with it, knowing the cost of building. An other, which would possibly admit as many or more defects, when the former were amended: and yet cannot our new builders see, and physitions of small value (as *Iob* calleth them) the meaning of these matters in our politique body, and building to acknowledge and allowe the good state and temper thereof; but would faine be pulling down to amēd that where haply is no fault, and to be tempering with that body which is in as good proportion of health, & doth for the generall frame & temper thereof, as well performe and accomplish all the functions and due offices thereof, I am perswaded as any other in the world; yea a great deale better then if it should be otherwise reformed: before which time also it might haply be lost it selfe, temper, and all.

Iob. 13. v. 4.

CHAP. 3.

Declaring the true nature and end of the inuenting and vrging of any kind of Subscription, by the prudent gouernment of any Church or state.



Now to shew the nature and proper end of this Subscription. It is onely a bond or witness of all inferiours liuing vnder gouernment for their good opinions and allowance of that state and proceedings therein, vnder which they liue, wherein I could with double bond taken with all possible securitie from those that should seeke any publike place or promotion whatsoeuer, in our Church or any part of the common wealth: Neither do our gouernours make any other end thereof, but by establishing thereby a generall vniformitie of doctrine (as the confessiō of the Church wherein they liue, comprised in our Articles of faith and conformity to publike orders and proceedings) to preserue the common peace of the Church as also to preuent thereby (so farre as humane foresight & meanes can attaine vnto) the manifold sects and diuersities of doctrines, and opinions, and attempts, and practises of speciall persons at the least which are most like, or may most insly be feared to be any way preiudiciall to the same: and to breed & bring in; by false and erronious doctrine and irregularity from the aforesaid seuerall orders determined any danger to the whole state, as also those which are vrged to Subscribe, to protest and witness no further thereon, but that all things contained in the booke of common prayer, and the rest are so farre forth according to the word of God as humane ability is wont to attaine vnto, being no way contrary to the rules of faith, but such as hath most wisely and religiously beene inuented and appointed: and with no lesse care preserued & maintained, as the best means, which our wise & worthy gouernots, haue in their graue & most carefull, curious, and conscionable con-

Of his Plea. &
135.

Archdeacon of
Caneibury
Bishop of Nor-
wich.

considerations resolved of, as well for the true seruice of God, and orthodoxall and wholesome doctrine, as the peaceable gouernment of the Church. And lastly to be such, as whereby God may duely be serued, and our Church orderly and sufficiently taught and gouerned as well as other reformed Churches in the world. Which to be so and no further, both the nature and end of this course prescribed, and most necessary to be kept of all, sheweth. And appeareth further by that learned Archdeacons answere, which may bee of all the rest both mouth and eie, remembred by Master *Nichols* himselfe, Pag. 134. which he gaue to some (amongst whom, he was one that refused to subscribe) pressing them, and very truly gathering therupon, as if he held opinion that we had no sound religion amongst vs, and that our late Queene of most famous and worthy memory, and the whole state, had not appointed sufficient lawes and orders for the true and right exercising of the same: but rather some thing directly to the contrary (and then indeed they might and ought to refuse to subscribe, or to continue any longer in our Church) by refusing to set to their hands to so much, as that those their orders and lawes containe nothing against the holy Scriptures, and rules of faith and manners, of piety & faith which is the end & summe of all that is vrged and those dangerous and feareful words so offenseuely and tenderly taken by some; where it is said, that those articles and meanes aboue named for vniformity of doctrine and conformity in rites and ceremonies, containe nothing contrary to Gods word. Implying thereby and truly setting downe (as himselfe knew well, if any other the whole matter and end of subscription) being euen then a prudent gouernour, and much imployed about that businesse, vnder that learned, wise, and most mild and worthy Archbishop, and afterward worthily in greater place of the Church, that by subscribing in this manner now as men are vrged, they are required onely, and by this meanes eyed to giue their witnessse and certificate vnder their hands, of their good opinions and allowance of oue lawes and orders, for doctrine and gouernment, and all necessary.

cessary meanes sufficient, according to the scripture, for the true seruice of God; so that our Church was and is according to Gods word, not Hereticall nor Schismaticall, nor maintaining any thing against the first or second table; but a true member of the right Catholicke Church, professing and seruing the true GOD in a right manner as well as other Churches: which also I haue lately learned (by one that was an eye & care witnesse) was the answer of that most learned and reuerent Archbishop *Parker* to Doctor *Humphrey*, who then also was somewhat tender and curious hereabouts, and Maister *Cartwright* also at the same time; and which I presume is, and will be the answer of all our reuerent fathers, to all refusers and standers out, vpon the vrging thereof, if with the like mind and modesty, they will come in and submit themselves vnto them, as that famous learned man (whom they need not be ashamed to haue their patterne & precedent) Doctor *Humphrey* did. And thus much for the first point, concerning the nature and end of Subscription.

CHAP. III.

Declaring the ancient, constant, and generall vse of this kinde of proceeding in the Church of God, and all other kinds of societies, and incorporations whatsoever.



He second followeth, which respecteth the long vse of subscription in the Church of God, according to the true nature and end thereof, aboue described: whereof wee reade in the Lawe, and before the Lawe also, and indeede in euery kinde of any state proceeding, ecclesiastical or ciuil, good or bad, one or other, as without the which none of them could possibly stand, or long endure: as first in circumcision. *Gen. 17.* and passouer. *Exod. 12. verse. 49.* whereby testimony and subscription was giuen to that religion, and ceremonies then in vse,

H

and

Gala. 5. 3.

Exod. 35. ve. 5
& 22. & cap.
38. ver. 16.

Nehc. 10. 28. 29

1. The. 3. 14.

& none other, whereby they bound themselves to like, allow, and practise the same for euer, as well as of their separation from all false religions and idolatry, and to be a meanes of so great benefits to the receiuers of the same, as Saint *Paule* (albeit to some other purpose) telleth the Galathians that beeing circumcised, they were bound to allow the whole legall seruices, and also to keepe the whole Lawe; as that also of our sauiour *Christ*, who liued from that time of his circumcision vntil his death, vnder that legall forme of religion (wherof also he was a minister. *Rom. 15.*) neither did he alter the same, til after his ascension. And hence it was, that both to *Abraham* and all the gouernours of the Church after, *GOD* gaue so straight a charge for the vrging and obseruing of it, as beeing the first meanes of subscription to the true religion, which was then professed in the world: in so much that whosoever hee were, stranger or bred amongst them, should be cut off, if he were not circūcised. So likewise at the rearing of the tabernacle, and building of the temple, wee may obserue to this purpose, that euery family and speciall house, yea priuate persons offered somewhat thereunto, in token of their approbation to that worke, as the publick meanes of Gods seruice, & at the making of any covenant betweene God and the people, or enterprising any more publique busines. For that end in *Nebemiah* and other places we see an vniuerfall practise of this subscription, and for more particular vrging therof, as an oath *ex officio*, in some causes of greater waight, the true meaning & equity of that hard place, *Leuit. 5. 10*, and some other. *Nehc. 10. 29.* (as *Hugo de sancto victore*, and other learned expound it) doth not onely giue allowance, but commandement also for the same: & the newe testament, such as would not receiue and obey the doctrine and ordinances agreed vpon, and customs also for those times, as in the first to the *Corin. Cap. 11. verse. 16.* were not onely suspected and noted for some dangerous and irregular persons, and the contrary highly commended. *1. Cor. 11. 2.* as in the second Epistle to the *Thessalonians. 3. cap. ver. 14.* but to be debarred also from the common priui-

priuiledges of the Church, as in that place, Company not with
such, and with such eate not, saith the Apostle. 1. Cor. 5. which
I take to be specially meant of the Lords table: yea they were
not to be entertained into house, *Iohn. Epist. 2. verse. 10.* much
lesse to any cheefe place in Gods house, which those men (to
whome this subscription for the like in doctrine and ceremo-
nies, customes, ordinances and orders of the Church, as *Acts,*
15. verse. 22. is vrged) are in petition and expectation of. But
more particularly for the dueries aboue named, wee reade in
the primitive Church, which may seeme to haue lesse neede
of this meanes and preseruatiue, how all Priests and Deacons
were vrged to subscribe to the speciall canons and decrees a-
greed vpon by sundry Councils, especially to those of *Toledo*
and *Ephesus* (which *Melancthon* more plainly declareth, and
the maner of their subscription, page 518, of his theologicall
counsels, where he learnedly handleth many things to his pur-
pose, and question of subscription:) his words are these: *Extat*
hodie Synodi Ephesine liber in quo sunt subscriptiones presbyterorum,
diaconorum, et subdiaconorum, extat et Concilium Toletanum quod in
bet ordine subscribere Episcopos, presbyteros, Diaconos. The particu-
lars wherof we may reade also in *Eusebius*, of Constantine that
most religious and renowned Emperor (who saw right well
the true nature and end of it, and found by the differences of
those times the absolute necessity thereof, which followeth
to be spoken of in the next point) commanding for the end
aboue named, this vniiformity in subscription, and condem-
ned *Arius* with his owne voice: The like we see to haue beene
in the practise of all late reformed Churches, in the harmony
of their confessions, and more specially to our purpose the
practise of those of Frankford to our owne countrymen, who
came but to sojourne amongst them: and at Geneva not onely
subscription is vrged, and that to many persons, 7. 8. or 9.
times, but an oath also is take for further security, that they shal
obey their Doctrine and orders, and doe nothing contrary to
the same. And indeed no incorporation or gouernment what-
soeuer haue euer vsed to receiue and be partakers of any pri-
uiledges

Sic liber Con-
cordie, in quo
800 Episcopi &
Presbyteri sub-
scripserunt.
Belserminus in
censura libri.
Et Harmonia in-
ter omnes Belgii
& Gallie mi-
stros. Eusebii de
vita Constantini.

Theses Geneuenses
Gallie scrip-
tae.

wiledges amongst them (and their folly were great if they did) except they should first submit them selues, and subscribe to like that estate vnder which they liue, for any time, much more professe them selues members thereof, and are willing to enioy good thereby, and that they will doe nothing praiudiciall to the safety thereof: as in Venice it selfe, wherein the greatest liberty is graunted of any place in the world, besides none are suffered to continue amongst them, which shall any way dislike their state by word or practise: but rather by both yeeld & subscribe thereunto, and yet it is strange how it should be thought so seuer, hard. And euen tyrannicall amongst vs, that subscription shold be required to one Synod or Councell of ours, and some fewe things which are cheefest & greatest of consideration, for the state and good of our Church and common wealth: although it be from those mens hands also who manage some speciall busineses thereunto belonging: whereas, as in short to conclude this second point, al Captains, gouernours of Cities or any incorporation, yea of some meaner family (as for example, many of those ministers, gentlemen and meaner persons which mislike so much our vrging of subscription by the Bishops) will admit of none to their seruices, or any priuiledge or freedome in those places of their commands (neither is there indeede any reason why they should) except they giue testimony and subscription by oath, many times, and other solemnities, (as some kinde of profession and subscription) for their well liking and allowing all their orders, and continuall care to do nothing praiudiciall to the same by meanes whereof, and that especially we see most incorporations, townes, free Cities, Innes of the Court, and such like, so much to flourish. Thus much also for the second point, shewing the long vse of subscription in the Church of God.

CHAP. IIII.

Shewing the absolute necessity of subscription in any well ordered government, and securely established estate, by all wise foresight, and iust preuention.



THE third and last poynt followeth, which contrayneth reasons for the equity and absolute necessity thereof in any well ordered state Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill, and more especially why our Church retayneth such a forme and restraynt thereof to special articles, with some reasons annexed why our Bishops are forced to enioyne the same, and that such as liue vnder any part of their government, haue no iust cause to refuse, nor yet to thinke so hardly and strangely of the matter. First therefore subscription being of the nature of a Sacrament (as we haue partly shewed before, and the vse and end of military Sacraments declaring the same) Saint *Augustine* hath this generall well knowne speeche to this purpose: *Nullum nomen religionis aut professionis est, in quod homines coadunari possunt absque sacramentorum v-* *su*: for as the maine sacraments ordained by God, doe binde all to one and the selfe same religion, so ought these other kindes of sacraments (so generally taken by all state gouernment in the world) and do binde all vnder the same to a common vniformity for the profession of the same religion, or any other duery and seruice whatsoeuer. Euen as wee see the Romanes had their *tesseras hospitales* amongst their seuerall bands, as without which (all one with the matter of our subscription) none should discern their friends and foes a sunder: besides that hereby the security is taken for the strengthening and combining the better together, any politick body, which otherwise beeing deuided both in iudgement and practise, many times must needs be dissolued & come to present ruine

Contra Faust,
Manichei. lib.
12. cap. 29. Et
signaculorum;

24004

*Zanchius in Cō-
fessi. page. 639.*

*Bodine in Mō-
rhodo. et de re-
publ.*

Genes. 11.

ine of it selfe, as *Zanchius* that worthy learned writer, and obseruer hath concluded: the principall reasons of which necessity may more specially be drawne to these two heads. First because by it one generall and vniforme order of proceeding in all matters (which may concerne the state) is and ought to be established, which going on in one constant tenor, and according to one forme, may by all story and experience be obserued to be the maine (if not the onely) cause that maketh any society safe and happy, and the meanest beginnings to increase in all things; as the continuance of the *Romane* gouernment, and that which is now vsed in *Venice*, doth by the censure of the best maisters in that kinde, abundantly testifie to all the world. The second, because by it and none other meanes the affections and dispositions of people vnto that state, vnder which they liue, may the better bee discerned and also kept vpright, firme, and faithfull to the same. The truth of the first reason may sufficiently appeare by that generall confusion, which eftsloones appeared at the rearing of *Babels Tower*, where God sent downe that great curse of deuiding their tongues amongst them; which sampleth and shadoweth out very fitly and fully the confused states of our times, for want of that subscription, the onely meanes to take away both the effects and cause together: wherein by a great curse no doubt to our state in generall, for want of this vniformity in speaking one kinde of language (which was the first and true holy tongue of *Canaan*) wee scarce vnderstand one another in the most common and vsuall things for the building of Gods house (except happily in some fewe generall tearmes of repentance, faith, and the Lords prayer, and such like, which also are agreed vpon, and in generall onely vnderstoode for names sake, rather then for any vniforme consent in the vnderstanding and teaching the same) but that euery one, both Priest and people, will haue a trick of teaching and vnderstanding Scriptures, and religion of their owne, according to their priuate fancies and iudgements, whereby they run themselues, and others many times vpon the rocks of sundry heresies, and schismatical practises,

too too common amongst vs, in so much that wee scarce vnderstand one another, but when the minister speaketh of one thing, for doctrine or life, the people take it, and will vnderstand it of some other, as in the building of Babel, at which *Scalliger* obserueth one onely word remained to all tongues, (namely Sack) because (as he guesseth) beeing of so common vse to all, euery one caried that with the name and vse thereof with them; eue as it is also with vs who onely pronounce haply Gods name aright, as beeing the voice of nature, and so in name and vse with all the world. In which respect it were further to be wished of all that loue and seeke the peace and good of this our Church, or any other, that the wisedome and most godly care of our state in generall, and the gouernours of our Church (seeing as we say they cannot *curare de minimis*, or possibly *canere de omnibus*) would provide a more generall forme and maner of vrging and requiring subscription: wherein besides those three points in force and vse already, it might further be enacted vpon paine of heresy, or some other great forfeiture (as should seeme best vnto their godly wisedomes) that all be bound with as great security to keepe one constant course agreed vpon by the Church (according to the Articles of faith agreed vpon) in which wee liue, in expounding the scriptures, translating or expounding their texts, discussing an vniuersall controuersie, and such like; as also for conformity in ceremonies, wherein euery one now yong and old, please themselues as they list, and raigue in their pulpits, and private parishes according to the motions of their owne wandering braines: and that euermore according to the common Translations, Articles of faith, and formes prescribed and generally agreed vpon by the gouernours of the Church, in which wee liue for the time beeing, who (as by God & man it is appointed, & alwaies iudged most fit) should prescribe and binde in such cases all vnder them, & that considering the manifold inconueniences which daily arise and breake forth for the want of this, to the offence of euery man of all sortes, and no lesse aduantage to the aduersaries of true religion. But especially that none presume, or by any meanes bee per-

permitted to deale in this publique sort, or prinate also (if it might be preuented) in any thing, controuerfed amongst our selues, our neighbour Churches tending any way to opposition about any matter of our doctrine or gouernment, or cōroueries buried or indiscussed as yet by the Church it selfe, without the priuity and allowance at the least, or rather commandement of such as are in authority for the maintaining of this vniformity and publike peace of the Church, settled amongst vs. Remembring that graue counsell and determination herein, by *Meiancton* in his Theologicall counsels. Pag. 223. Part 2. *Nec vult Deus dissipationes fieri infinitas, & provide conuenire vult Ecclesia doctores & vt vna doctrina vaudatur in quaq; Ecclesia.* And that worthy precedent for religion, and wise gouernment, *Nehemias* (with whom I will conclude this first reason) who cursed and punished those that spake halfe of *Assdod*, and halfe of their owne language, and chased all strangers from the house of the Lord. The second reason of this necessitie of Subscription, is for the discerning and examining how certaine persons (of whom more speciall care is to be taken) are disposed and affected to the present state established, and the generall proceedings thereof, wherein (because no state is able to provide for all particulars they haue ben vsually reduced in our Church to those three (which of all others were adiudged to be most needfull, and behoouefull for the state present.

The first in regard of that dangerous doctrine, and very common defection and separation therupon of many a liege subject otherwise against the Princes most lawfull supremacie, that by meanes of this Subscription, at the least such as might draw others into the like errors, should shew their detestation of such a dangerous doctrine and opinion. The second in regard of that Anabaptisticall fury, which possessed whole multitudes amongst vs not long since, and raged very fearefully for the time in the minds and practises of many, holding & teaching that our orders for Gods service & set formes of prayers, in general (& euē not without blasphemy of the Lords pray-

*Nehem. 13. cap.
vers. 25.*

prayer it selfe) were not to be allowed, as being vnfit for these times of grace, and much derogatory from those spirituall sacrifices, required since that fulnesse of grace, and prerogative of the Spirit, and aboundance thereof vpon the Church. For meeting with which inconuenience the second article concerning the book of common prayer, was thought necessary to be vrged against Brownisme, and all the points and branches thereof: vnto both which the third also was found as requisite and needfull to be adioyned, for the lawfulness and sufficiencie of the ordinatiō of ministers amongst vs, which as yet very many dāgerously stumble at (& indeed is thought to be the onely true and most common rocke of offence in this their separation) and that as well in regard of Papists which generally hold, that we haue no true ministry or Minister in England: as also of many amongst the other Anabaptisticall sort and faction, that maintaine openly, the making of Ministers to be proper to God & the spirit, & so was subiect to no human power, much lesse to that which our State inuesteth in the Bishops & Ecclesiastical power, established amongst vs as the immediate meanes vnder God for that purpose. Inso much as euen vnto this day, the greatest maisters of opposition to the Bishops, calling them plants that God neuer planted, and such like, condemne them, and much more others, for nothing so much as taking vpon them this power (and which in my opinion and best obseruation in many, is the maine and greatest rock of offence, hindering the subscription of many at this time) and haue for their parts, made no more of any such orders and power giuen them by the Bishops then (as they haue not spared in my hearing, although long since, blasphemously to say) of a passport frō a master theefe, to passe through Stagat hole, or some such theeuish place, or by a bribe to purchase fauour from an vniust and wicked Iudge, there being no other man or meanes allowed by authority for that end and purpose; and yet poore men for this point also, as well as for all other of doctrine or practise, generall or particular; in some cases of conscience, they allow of a sorry cōpany in their

Presbiters to order ministers, and determine all other matters as the sentence vnreuerfable in in al things. In regard wherof, & many such like generals & particulars (which might easily be added) a man would think it high time & thrice necessarie to haue this Subscriptiō with the greatest strictnes & religiō to be vrge. Now these being the two maine reasons of this subscription, respecting the state in generall, we will consider of some others which concerne the reuerent fathers of the Church, and their speciall requiring the same at the hands of any, and then to answere to some few things obiected to the contrary. First therefore, the common reasons for subscription being such as we haue aboue shewed, it may easily appeare to any equally minded, that the Bishops being put in trust by God and man with the gouernement of the Church, and all state occasions depending thereupon, they do no more herein (whatsoever any doe lesse) then that which the common lawes of the kingdome, and the chiefe gouernours of our whole state do enioyne them, and require at their hands, and none other. So that in case it should at any time fall out (which God forbid) that by reason of negligence, or want of due care in looking to these things so committed vnto them, any such as *Dauids* men were, or worse, should come so neere the Lords annointed, or any part of that caue or compasse whereby they might haue opportunity to cut off the lappe of his coat, or take the pot of water from his head (I meane, to violate any the least part of that generall order of things established by him, much more to preiudice or endamage any of his royall prerogatiues) all *Dauids* and others might iustly cry aloud to these our Abners, that they were very worthy of the greatest blame. Secondly, did not these grand Captaines and commanders abouesayd for all state proceedings, looke for this care and seruice at the Bishops hands; yet being the Immediate gouernours of the Church, both their power and authority, and godly wisdom and foresight could doe no lesse (except they should become desperately carelesse in their speciall charges, like vnto those gouernours in Iudges, which had

1. Sam. cap. 16.
v. 15. 16.

Iud. 18, vers 7.

had neither gates nor barres to their townes and Cities.) And so not only that turbulent Tribe, but the very runnagates of *Ephraim*, and tayles of *Israel* (as in *Hosea* they are called) might not only traiterously pierce our best and strongest Church forces (as they dayly now doe) but also enter vpon and surprise (which also they haue beene very ready and busie to do) euen their best Holds within yea the Masters and gouernors themselues: who more especially sitting at the sterne should not only without that former care and meanes of preuention, be infinitely molested in their owne persons, and all their proceedings; but to their greate hearts grieve often see the whole ship of their gouernment tossed vp and downe with contrary windes and waues of diuers and contrary doctrines, and as many differences in ceremoniall and all outward obseruances, if not to be wracked vpon the manifold dangerous Syttes and rocks of this later Church-hating, enuying, and robbing age. Thirdly not only the care of the present state in generall, and more especiall that of the Church committed vnto them, but charity it selfe and due compassion of so many poore people committed vnto them, easily seduced and most inclinable to this variety in doctrine and profession, doe bind these reuerend Fathers of the Church to a more strict yrting of this subscription, or any other meanes for the maintaining of vniformity in the one, and conformity in the other. To which purpose that speeche of *Cyprian* (albeit extended and detorted against all reason, by our aduersaries for the establishing that their vniuersality) serueth very well, being vnderstood and applyed aright. *Vnde aliter nata hereses, &c: nisi quia non obtemperant omnes vni voci in Ecclesia* Noting thereby the chiefe causes of all heresies and disorders in the Church, because where this subscription is not to one voice (as it were) in the Church, euery one imbraceth for his iudgement and profession, whatsoeuer seemeth good in his owne eyes, as if there were no King in *Israel*, as *Iudges* 18. 12. To which accordeth that grand resolute of *Iudg.* 18. that wise obseruer *Melancthon*, who managed many state occasions for his time, both for Church and Common wealth. pag.

123. *Ut sit igitur discordiarum finis, conuenire debent ecclesia doctores, & curare ut exiet una Doctrina vox in quaque ecclesia.* For as for that which the Papists dreame of herein, to haue this one voice to proceede from one mans mouth throughout the whole world, is no whit like to that which we require to be performed in euery speciall prouince and Corporation of Church or commonweale, as most necessary for the common peace and well ordering therof (as in another kind of Treatise I haue laboured to demonstrate) and peoples safeties liuing vnder the same; the other not to bee affected or expected in this world, but must be perfourmed at that day, when there shall bee but one sheeheard and one sheepfolde, and none but Christ his sheepe shall be there, which euermore heare his voice. But for the reason it selfe we now insist in, it is euident to the eies of all our English, who without partiality and preiudice doe behold the state of our times, where a man may see, for want of exacting this meanes of security, and preuention against the same, not onely diuerfities of opinions broached and scattered in euery place, but infinite distractions thereupon of all sorts of people; and looke almost how many men, so many minds, so many factions and oppositions betwixt sometimes Bishop and Minister, Minister and people, and (if it may be) more vnkindly and vnfauoury contentions amongst vs. In somuch as some amongst vs haue beene noted as men of another Church, although they were in the compasse of one Deanry, yea two of the next parishes, yea the same parish & household many times: the one allowing and vsing the Crosse, kneeling at the Communion, and such like; the other cleane contrary, euen condemning all other that are not of their owne opinion. Yea too too commonly (and by no meanes to be reformed, but onely by this we now speake of) in many essentiall poynts of wholsome doctrine and the holy faith professed amongst vs: as of predestination, sauing grace, renewing againe by repentance, praying for Apostates, and such like (were they particularly recited) exceeding many: wherein the poore people are infinitely offend-

offended, and many so stumble that they fall downe right, vpon occasion of this our diuersity, euen to no religion at all: but grow Libertines, Atheists, and the fall of the best is to the Papists, because it is likely (as they say themselues) they see no such variety amongst them. And I would to God in this matter of our gouernment we were but halfe as wise in our generation as they are. Lastly to end this reason drawne from the offence of the poore people (which is very eagerly and earnestly vrged by these refusers to subscribe, in another case, against many indifferent ceremonies of our Church) I doe not see, in respect of this matter of offence and publique peace for politick proceeding, but that we may as well admit diuersities of religions, as they are now diuersly distinguished in the world (I meane euermore Chritian religion) as such diuersities in opinions about many particulars in any kind of religion, and proceeding for the profession and expressing the same to God and the world: especially towards the simple multitude (in the ordering whereof standeth the greatest skill, and the best Art, and all meanes are little enough for the madnesse of the people as *Psal. 48*) whereof the most part are carried by sense, as *Exod. 32*: and *Luther* in his treatise of ceremonies plainly sheweth: and stand or fall more vpon the vniformity or irregularity in such proceedings, then vpon a hundreth doctrines, yea kinds of religion, also being not able to examine them to be true or false. Fourthly, without this all the gifts and employments of our chiefe captains and inferior souldiers, would doe little good (as God wot little commeth of all our preaching, &c.) yea the meanest that keepeth his ranke and order appointed by any leader in this or any other array, would doe more good then a whole band of vnmarshalled & disordered, albeit the most expert and valiant souldiers in the world. And in the second place, what enemy to our state, Papist, Brownist, factious schismatick, or most seditious and poysonfull heretick, might not plant himselfe in some great place of aduantage for the disturbing the common peace, and infecting the whole Church, with sundry kinds of false doctrine? were not

Exod. 32. v. 2.
Make vs God
to goe before
vs.

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Δι' αὐτῶν
 Philo πρὸς δυνάμειν
 λόγων.

this barre of subscription layd in the way (as a common Lawe and countermure (as *Philo* saith) whereby to hedge in and preserue the vineyard of Christ, and keepe these Bores and Foxes out, which notwithstanding all the care and circumspection (which the most vigilant can vse) we see too too commonly come to passe, and euery where to swarme in all Churches.

CHAP. V.

Teselding reasons why they may and ought to yeelde to subscription, with some answers also to their ignorant objections to the contrary.



He obiections which are vsually made against this vrging of subscription, albeit most of them arise from that common fallation of not vnderstanding the true nature of any thing, and so consequently of this subscription, and therefore were answered in laying open the first poynt which we handled hereabout, shewing what it was not, and what it was indeed: Yet because I find many other things obiected against it, or at the least, this practise and seuerer vrging and vrgers of it, which are taken from certaine accidentall things, as the persons vrging, and vnto whome this Subscription is vrged, the present time, Lawes inforce, and such like, I must needs apply my answers accordingly. First therefore it is obiected, that no Law of the kingdome doth require such a subscription, but only to the supremacy prouided for by the 13. of *Elizabeth*, which seemeth to be an *Alex* his shield to these men for their standing out, being fitted long since to their hands by that old abstracter, and furbushed ouer againe by our late publique and priuate pleaders. To which I answer, that both by the Lawe of God and man, and the whole body and soule, as I may so speake, of all temporall Lawes in this

this kingdome, they are bound to yeeld themselues to any imposition and demand whereby any priuate good which by no other meanes could be procured, much more the publike peace and good of a whole state may be continued and confirmed, as in the 1. *Peter* cap. 2. v. 13 and 13. *Heb.* v. 17. Obey all set ouer you: &c. such as we haue shewed from the nature, vse, and necessity thereof, subscription to be. And who seeth not that the whole state by Parliament, and common agreement, giue power, strength and authority to Ecclesiasticall Lawes, as whereby they would haue all vnder their gouernment bound to obey the same, neither doth that speciall Antidote in the statute aboue named provided for the heart (I meane the Prince in his supremacy) any way hinder or preiudice the application of any other soueraigne remedy for the safeguard and preservation of other principall parts, and the wholly body in generall, such as subscription is to the other Articles, if any other inuented and appointed in our Church. Secondly it is obiected, why now more then in former time, and by these Bishops more then their predecessors, and to some men more then other, and why there may not be a toleration or forbearing of it, as well now as in the Bishop *Gri-dals* time, and some speciall relentings by that wise and worthy gouernor Bishop *Whitegift*? For answer whereunto, as all authority is likned by *Plato* to a sword, so ought the vse of any part thereof to be like the wearing and handling of a sword, which is not vsuall, fit, nor necessarie at all times, but onely when there is iust occasion thereof, as namely when they espy or feare any dangerous persons vpon the way, or in the verge of their iurisdiction and authority: as now of late & many times heretofore, many dangerous and suspicious persons haue been descried, that liuing amongst vs are of one or more of those three wicked bands of people before named, which haue giuen this iust occasion (if not to draw out any sword) yet at the least to vse this meanes of fortification against them, And why others haue not dealt in like manner (there beeing doubtlesse neede enough at all times) I rest perswaded of their

1. *Peter*. cap. 2. v. 17.
Every ordinance of man, or by man, is not against God. Can. primo. Feare God &c.
Heb. 13. v. 17.
where Bishops and Church gouernors are directly meant and named,

Lib. 3. Page
104. of his hi-
story.

their most iust causes, secret and knowne to them selues, to deale so in those times, and forbear to inquire into their particular motiues and inducements thereunto: and will onely remēber one peece of a story out of Guicciardine (which may descipher in some maner the nature and state of these things) where for the mistaking only, and not so much for not vnderstanding the same, one word *Darier*, and in a small gouernement of a few outcasts beeing the *Odds*, the whole array was broken, and their whole enterprise which was in a maner achieved, frustrated vpon the sodaine, much more and sooner (might any thinke) had they beene disarayed, and the whole band dissolued, if there had beene any (much more a greater company, as in matters of our consideration) amongst them, that had not knowne their speciall watch words, neither wold haue suffered themselues (as they had subscribed) to be ruled by that discipline and orders prescribed for that speciall service, then to be managed amongst them, and executed by the. And more specially for those renowned gouernors & Primates for their time (albeit for the latter of them, they were both his priuare acts and indulgences, as wherof also before his death, he found iust cause of misliking, with a most serious vow neuer to yeeld the same againe to any) I hope I may speake with due reuerence to them both, and iust respect also to all other, which as yet forbear this præcise and generall requiring the same, as a great learned man spake of as learned a one, Maister *Bucey* in those interimicall times wherein he liued: *Hac o-
pus lentas parum uis profuit*: and I pray God that this of theirs doe no greater harme to themselues and others; as what it hath done already, I leaue to the iudgement of all wise state obseruers to determine. And indeede as some of these exceptors haue made that worthy late Archbishop the chiefe Author and vrger of this subscription (how soeuer now they will take aduantage from some little relenting of his) so do all wise obseruers of time and state acknowledge it for a most worthy care, and enterprise of his, or whose else soeuer, which being so well foreseene & plotted by him our worthy *Philop*, in those
diffi.

difficult and turbulent times; wee all hope now by his successor likely by Gods blessing to proue an *Alexander*, & his *Alexander* after him, and to vs all the rather by his meanes, shall be fully and perfectly accomplished. As without which indeede the true and sound peace of Church or state can neuer be established, (of whome it may be said with all one reuerence in this behalfe, as it was sometimes of *Luther* & *Lira* compared together for their most worthy & honourable enterprises, which I pray God these may sort like vnto, & much more happy (which God effected by their meanes) *Si Lira non lirasset, Lutherus non triumphasset*. Lastly it is objected that beeing brethren, and many of them of good desert and best conuersation, should be spared in some fewe particulars, especially since greater fauour is shewed to worse mēbers amōgst vs: to which we answer, that *Boni viri* must bee *Boni cines* so, or else are they more fit to be in heauen, or to liue as priuate men vpon the earth, then to beare any part in publick administration. In which the basest soldier keeping his station (as wee haue said before) and doing his indeauor, doth more good then many other more skilfull and valiant which refuse or forget their military sacrament: & for fauour required (which is alwaies due to men of good desert) howsoeuer forgetting theselues sometimes in greater matters, I could wish from my hart, that all lawfull fauour should be shewed the, in regard of any of their priuate estates, for vpholding a comfortable life for them and theirs; because they haue been annointed with oyle: and as the Prophet *Elisabab* gaue counsell to the King of Israell. *2. Kings. 6. 22.* so could I wish concerning these enemies of our state (who are now in the hands and vnder the veil, *2. Reg. cap. 6. 22.* censure of the gouernors of this time) that since through a fall kinde of error, and not without some speciall iudgemēt to vs all by cutting off a Tribe (although a stubborne one, as *Beniamin* was, *Iudges. 21*) from our Israell, and depriving the *Iudg. 21. cap. v.* Church of their profitable & necessary labours in some kind 3. & respect (otherwise I speake of very many of them) a great & strange blindness is befallen the, as verse 18. of the same

chapter: they should not be dealt withall, as taken with the sword and bowe, but that bread and water (that is, all things necessary for men of their sort) be set before them. But yet to yeeld them such fauour, as to retaine their publique places, & exercise their offices and functions belonging thereunto, being contrarily minded, and so affected also to very many state proceedings, both in opinion and practise; it were a cruell mercie (as *Augustine* calleth it) and fauour, by sparing a fewe to indanger all: it being a very constant position amongst the politike masters (as that Popish *Dolman* auoweth, and our owne defendants doe not disallowe it) that all mislikers of any estate established cannot but wish the ouerthrowe, or at the least some alteration of the same, which I suppose most of these will not deny or refuse greatly to professe. And therefore according to that famous and generally receiued saying of Saint *Cyprian*, *Melius est vi pereat unus quàm unitas*, better *Abolom* himselfe, and all his host scattered, then that *David* or any of his honourable seruants of state should be so much disquieted and indangered: who may more iustly a great deale answer these men, suing for fauour at their hands, then *Tun* did the sewes and Priests intreating for their liues, that since they haue set fire vpon our temple with their owne hands (as these men haue done, not likely to bee quenched in haste) surely themselues whose gifts and liues serue onely thereunto, could desire, or at the least deserue no fauour. Neither lastly ought that to offend any (as it doth not greatly commend themselves) that these refusers to subscribe, are men of tender conscience, painfull in their callings, of blamelesse conuersation for the most part, and such like; because the greater is their sin in depriuing the Church of so many their good parts, and the purer & finer the matter is, the sooner doth it receiue staines: neither doth the purenesse diminish, but increase rather (at the least to the ourward viewe) the deformity ioyned with it. And indeede these men being otherwise well armed and appointed for the Diuels weapons (as it seemeth) no maruaile if they

they be found imperfect and ly more open to his assaults & inuasions vpon their weake and scrupulous consciences, for want of true vnderstanding and spirituall wisdom in that behalfe. And albeit most commonly it falleth out that men suffer first shipwrack (as *Bellarmino* obserueth in his preface to the third part of his controuersies) in their maners and consciences, before they fall into grander errors, yet it is not alwaies so, especially in differences and errors of this nature; wherein the Diuell (as *Chrysostome* well noteth) is wont very cunningly to sowe his poison by, and in the meanes of good actions of life, and *Paul* him selfe dranke thrice poison out of the Diuels cup, 2. *Cor.* 12. in some such like case and occasion. But howsoeuer, God respecteth no mans person (as the same *Paul* speaketh *Gala.* 1.) neither doth the word of God come out from them onely, 1. *Cor.* 14. 36. but beeing as all other men, subiect to their falles (howsoeuer neither theselues nor any other their fauourers delight to tell *Quid faciunt*) in other things, and *doveant* also (which is many times worst of all) as well as *Quid patiuntur*, must likewise endure the censure of the time, and their speciall punishments awarded, as well as other men. Now that these men may haue some reason giuen and affoorded why they may safely subscribe as well as the gouernours of the Church may & ought to vrge the same vpon them, I haue reserued somewhat to the last place (as I promised) for this end. Wherein first wee will remoue some difficulties vsually pretended in this action of obedience, and then declare how in effect they daily doe as much or (haue already by their daily practises) more then in this subscription is required at their hands. For the first, they must all know that the thing required in subscription is their obedience rather and good affection to the state and allowance of the maine things established amongst vs, then any their particular knowledge, and examination of so many particulars, which doe not so much indeede concerne them to know, much lesse to inquire so farre into them; whose best wisdom and safety for their consciences were in matters of

De sacerdot. λόγ.
παραπειράειν
διὰ καλῶν πραγ.
μάτων.

this nature so long as no manifest sinne may appeare therein (for then a separation were necessary) to rest themselves vpon that which is commanded, and the wisdom and decrees of those vnder whose gouernment and authority they liue. For besides that this were many waies more safe for their consciences, and would cut off many lets and hinderances (which on the other side are cast into the way of the manifold dueties of their speciall callings) it would very well become men of their sort to haue so reuerent an opinion of so many waighy and graue constitutions, deuised and appointed by so many learned heads, after such long experience and precedents from all Churches in the world, to yelde themselves with heart and hand, and to giue their good allowance to the same, that at the least they are lawfull and wholsome, and such as doe no way crosse and contrary the word of God. And to say with him that read ouer a booke and vnderstood but few things therein (*Qua intellexi bona, credo etiam quae non intellexi*): for being things at the most doubtfull and controuersed betwixt them and the reuerend Fathers, any reasonable man would thinke it more fit, that these inferiors should come in, and yelde themselves; rather then these superiors, (whose reasons and consciences are perswaded to be as good and better, because better informed and furnished with iudgement and knowledge then theirs.) Neither may the pillars of the earth (as *Iob* speaketh) that is auncient constitutions and determinations of men in place, be forsaken and pulled downe for their sakes, who are but of yesterday; and so I conclude this with that worthy speech of *Arnobius* in a higher matter against the Gentiles: *Superciliosa nimis res est quando ipse sis non tutus, in aliena etiamnum possessione verferis, potentioribus dare conditionem velle, ut id fiat quod tu velis, non quod inueneris antiquis constitutionibus fixum*: Secondly if any thing be hard in the iudgement of these refusers, it may either be conuincd to be simply wicked, and then no doubt it should be forborne, or altered, or they might and ought to depart; or els doubtfull and disputable, and then by better discussing the points, and information thereupon, the most

Laertius in
Socratis vita.
Αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμιλίαι,
ὅσαι εἰς αὐτὸν
εὑρίσκονται.

Lib. 1. contra
Gentes.

most tenderest of them might be satisfied, if they would seeke and hearken to the meanes; as the Bishops of euery Diocesse, according to the appointmēt of our worthy Soueraigne, haue yeelded time and meanes enough for their satisfaction in any thing they may haue iust cause to take exception against. For the other reason, that they doe dayly subscribe by word and practise, how els doe they say Amen to our Leiturgies, and to our orders of common praier, whereat they refuse not to be present, much more how can they be content by their practises to haue liued as ministers hitherto vnder that gouernment and particulars therein, to which now they dare not subscribe and set their hands? whereas by their former practises they had done so many a yeare together, and so would doubtlesse by their word and profession now, but that some other sinister causes (I feare) draweth and haleth them another way. And so to conclude this point, I desire all to remember that wise speech of that graue Senator in *Valerius Maximus*, prophesying of Rome, that then should be the end of that Empire when the superiors should forget to rule as becomed them, and inferiors to obey in all things, which doth euermore best become them, and without the which there would be no better then *Nomadum vita*, where (as *Euripides* saith) *ὅστις ἀνὴρ ὅστις ἴσθις* and the very Image of hell it selfe, death and the graue, where (as *Iob* saith, *Chap. 10. vers. 22*) there is no order, but light is there as darknesse. To answer yet a little more fully the objections made against subscription, and to giue the best satisfaction we can to the weake or wilfull standers out vpon the vrging thereof, and so many vniustly offended thereupon, I desire al with indifferency to reade that which I haue thought necessary to adioyne here following as a supplement to our former considerations thereof; as well shewing what small cause the one side hath for their standing out, & being offended thereat, as also the great equity and euen absolute necessity for the most precise requiring the same in any well ordered estate. First therefore to shew that it bindeth none to beare false witnesse, to say yea and nay of the same thing, & so to in-

*Euripides in
Phænissia.*

In his plea
pag. 203.

tangle and inwrap weake consciences with manifold scruples and difficulties, which is the summe of Master *Nichols* and all his complices opposing themselves against it: we say first, that nothing contained in those Articles to which Subscription is required, is any way against the rule and Canon of faith and manners (which are the very pith & substance of all the word of God:) for as for all our doctrine, there is nothing generallie maintained in all the Articles of our Church, which directly crosseth any portion of scripture examined by those two former rules, nor yet containeth or alloweth any blasphemy, heresie, Idolatry or superstition, or any iniustice in them against the second table (but whollome Lawes are made against them all, both Ecclesiasticall & Ciuill) and are euery way sutable for the generall contents thereof, with that Harmony of confessions which was not many yeeres since agreed vpon by all reformed Churches: as I presume these refusers neither can nor will deny, and all that euer I haue dealt with, or heard of, confesse as much of our doctrine; which yet indeed (be things well examined) is as much as is required at their hands by this Subscription. And as for particular differences of learned men about the exposition of sundry Scriptures and diuersities of iudgements, about any speciall point of positiue Diuinitie, as for example in some part of that Article touching Christs descending into Hell, and such like very manie, about the reading or translating, yea allowing at all certaine books generally retained amongst the rest of holy Scripture, they need not hinder any mans hand from Subscription: for as long as the world standeth, there will be infinite such differences, and that which *Hierome* obserueth in his time, concerning many such varieties, must goe still for currant; that in such causes *Quilibet abundet suo sensu*, and yet submit himselfe to the generall truth and equity of things ordained in the Church: which is the best rule for euery age, and euery special Church. For so neither is it any way contrary, but very agreeable to the word of God, and euery particular therein, that the best humane constitutions for matters of doctrine or manners, should be

In Epistola
quadam.

be imperfect, and not want their doubts and ambiguities; nor yet that those that liue vnder gouernment, for these imperfections no way implying any manifest error or impiety (be they neuer so many) shall refuse to subscribe thereunto, being lawfully required; for so should they yeeld vnto nothing: and yet when they haue done all they can, they must and doe subscribe to some men, and some rules for doctrine and matters traditionary amongst themselves: and why not aswell to the present state, whereby they liue? but that singularity, syding and affection now ruleth all the world, and God his ordinance is easily neglected and reiected. Secondly in matters doubtful and difficult either for doctrine and practise (so long as they containe no manifest impiety or notorious offence in them) the Superiours authority grounded vpon the fift commandement, is sufficient warrant and bond also to any conscience for obedience therein; for otherwise there would be no end of controuerfies (as *Melanct. pag. 123. Part. 2. Consil. Theolog. Vis igitur discordiarum finis, recte facit potestas obligans homines ut obtemperent, cum alioqui parere sit necesse.* according also to that old argument, *Cognitio in synodis est summum iudicium in Ecclesia, parere igitur est necesse:*) nor yet any order for any proceedings in the world. Which mooued Saint *Augustine* at the last to conclude this point, for the compelling of hereticks and all contrarily minded to wholsome doctrine and religion established by the Ciuil Magistrate (as in his *Retractions*) he sheweth: whose iudgemēt being so vniuersally approued amongst vs that refractary spirits may and ought to be constrained to such obedience, euen against their iudgements, & that without any conscience of sin vnto them; I maruaile how these standards out can in their consciences absolue themselves of a great sin against the fift commandement, for disobeying in so meane and small impositions by so lawfull authority; whereas in obeying, they haue the fift commandement for their warrāt, and the commanding magistrate his soule and conscience engaged in this behalfe, as whose sinne furthermore it is if it bee any, and of whom it is to be required, and not of the obeyer, who

*Retractions.
lib. 2. cap. 18.*

who in cases doubtfull and difficult maketh iust conscience of obedience to superiors, and stayeth himselfe herein vpon the first commandemēt. And if they say, that in subscription things simply wicked are vrged by our Church, as in our doctrines, formes of prayer, and discipline defended and allowed; it is strange that they haue neuer as yet in all their pryings, exceptions, and conclusions amongst them, exhibited any such foule matter to the eies of the iudicious, which God be thanked are in great number amongst vs, and abroad in the world: and it were very strange and wicked also that our neighbour Churches with whom we entertaine and professe agreement and confession alike, should want so much charity, and that so long (especially those *Aristarchi* of Geneva, and *Beza* himselfe writing so oft to our late Queene, and some Bishops also of this kingdome) as neuer to haue put vs in minde thereof: & in a word they might as well say wee haue no Church at all, (which G O D be thanked for matter of constitution, for doctrine and maners is one of the most flourishing Churches in the world) as to say we should retaine such grosse points, contrary to faith and manners: as *Cassander* learnedly disputeth from this generall to his particular defence of infants baptism against those Anabaptisticall exceptors in Germany of late, very like in too too many things vnto those Sectaries of our times; to whom our wise and learned most noble Soueraigne lately answered, that if they supposed and iudged such grosse-nesse (as idolatry and such like) to be in any part of the substance of our religion, or any meanes of expressing the same, that then they did very ill to stay so long amongst vs, and should rather depart the kingdome: which is also our answer in some cases (*vel subscribendum vel secedendum*) rather (in case they cannot be perswaded) then they should doe any thing against their conscience, to depart from vs.

Cassander de Baptismo Infantum, p. 113.

In his Epistle to Queene Elizabeth, and the Bishops of that time.

Thirdly *M. Digges* his reasons for association in religion (which presume are well accounted of by these refusers and dislikers of Subscription (the Author being for the most part wholly of their

their side) make as much for vniformity in professing and expressing the same religion by one kind of ceremonies and circumstances accordingly . And be it well considered and examined in matter and weight of state deliberation and execution, it will be found thereupon, by all that are truly able to discern such matters and mysteries that it is as like to haue toleration & multitudes of religiō (which all kinds of opinion so much condemne) as such variety, diuersities, and contrariety in the outward manner, externall rites, circumstances and ceremonies to expresse the same (as we haue aboue intimated) and in the outward performing thereof . And albeit there be great ods in respect of the matter of conscience with GOD (which is but one, and so will haue but one religion, one faith, one baptisme, &c) and so for the soules and safeties of Christian people which can haue but one good and true religion; yet for good policy, matter & meanes of common peace, and well ordering the outward gouernment of the Church, more inconueniences may well and wisely be obserued to proceede from the latter then the former : as in comparing ceremonies with doctrine by certaine reasons drawne from master *Luther* and others, we haue elsewhere shewed in a more large treatise, which if God please shall not be long behind this, about this and many other matters : the people being led chiefly by the outward senses, and orders customably obserued . Lastly, whereas some obiekt that our doctrine and ceremonies are contrary the one to the other, and that willingly (which all confesse and yeeld vnto) they would subscribe to our doctrine and all the Articles of our faith, but not vnto the ceremonies; it seemeth to me very strange ; and much repugnant to the rules of true Diuinity; which teache that euermore to be good for practise, which is true and sound for conscience and iudgement. Now our doctrine being allowed for good and currant (which doubtlesse is as well about ceremonies, as any other head and point of doctrine) I cannot see any iust cause for the standing out against the one more then the other : and indeed howsoeuer the doctrine of faith (which is according to those

grand rules of faith and manners, as *Hierome* defineth them: 1. *Tim. cap. 4*) is truly and soundly taught and maintained, all other things about circumstances and ceremonies, and speciall practises of any, not contrary to the generall rules aboue named, cannot goe amisse, according to that graue and true iudgement of *Augustin: Lib. de Cinit. Dei cap. 4. Vbi bene creditur non male vinitur*: And for things doubtfull and controuerfed (which euermore will remaine in the best reformed Church whatsoeuer) either for doctrine or practise, the Decrees of euery speciall Church for their times ought to preuaile with euery well minded and affected person to God & his Church. For the further resoluing and concluding whereof, and this whole treatise, I desire all to reade that which *Melancton* hath set downe, pag. 501. and 502: of the first part of his theological Councils, part whereof I haue thought fit and necessary to set downe and adde as a Colophonem to all the rest: *Hac cum constituta sunt in Ecclesia, potestatem esse interpretandi ambigua, eamq; pertinere ad plures, hoc est ad Sinodos, sequitur Sinodorum sententias amplectendas esse, tanquam certas & non labefactandas: Frustra enim esset potestas data indicandi, si liceret perpetuo aduersari: Nulla est politia in qua non sit aliqua vox legum interpret inuiolabilis. Si ea maiestas tribuitur imperio quia diuinitus constituta sunt & Deus voluit Magistratum hac potestate Iudicandi munitum esse, cur non Ecclesia magis haberet potestatem & auctoritatem inuiolabilem qua longe superat imperia maiestate. Denique concussa Sinodorum auctoritate & refractis his repagulis, quo modo petulantia ingeniorum coerceri poterit? Nullus in ecclesia seditionum finis erit, si ea quae vetustas summa gravitate decreuit canillari licebit. Multae sunt causae quae deletis veterum testimonijs magnos possint tumultus excitare, ut quaestio de infantu Baptismo, de verbo Ioannis primo, an significat personam & pleraque alia: Valeat igitur in ecclesijs rerum indicatarum auctoritas. Agnoscamus promissiones quae testantur piorum congressus, & iudicia gubernari diuinitus. Discat populus reuerentiam ecclesiae, & illis piorum Doctorum congressibus deberi, qui ingentibus certaminibus defenderunt caelestem doctrinam: Hac sunt vtilia tranquillitati communi. Nam diapixia parit aeternas dilacerationes & vastitatem*

vastitatem Ecclesiarum. And this which I wish imprinted in every brest, being put last, that it might be lesse lost, and first and for euer remiembred, proceeding from old *Hierome* that *bo lassus / olet figere pedem firmiss.* Epist. ad Luc.

CHAP. I.

Intreating of the lawfulnessse and necessity of Ceremonies in generall, in all solemne, publicke, and (more especially) all holy administrations whatsoeuer, and how farre the magistrates authority may stretch, for the determining of any to be vsed in particular.



Mongst so many idle, vncharitable, and vnnecessary exceptions by many, against sundry particulars established for Church gouernment, and the ordering and performing the publique seruice of God amongst vs, there is one, more generally carped at, and misliked then any other, namely the signe of the Crosse: which hath beene so much obserued in our administration of Baptisme; and noted to containe Idolatry, heresie, and manifest impiety, or at the least great superstition and manifould occasions of the greatest, and yet most necessary and vnauoydable offence to all, both good and bad. Which as some haue publicquely and too too scandalously termed *Cruce infelix*; so hath it by Gods iust iudgements, thorough some weaknesse or wilfulnesse vpon the vrging thereof too too truely fallen out, to the iust harts grieve of many, and much garboyle and dissipation in our Church. For the clearing of which exceptions, and satisfying the offended therewith, I could commend many things out of ancient writers, and learned discuffers of this point, and more especially that answer of learned *Cassander* (albeit in some things iustly to be refused) to seuerall objections made against the ceremonies in baptisme, vsed by most Churches, and the solemne administration thereof; but because no authority of

any new or old, nor yet any Council in gnomicall cases more particularly appropriated, (and euermore applyable to the present time) nor yet any weight of reason and argument can draw some from their prepossest opinions, & resolues to the contrary; and some scripture holds of theirs ill vnderstood, and worse applyed against the true and lawfull vse of this ceremony: I will indeauor to set downe by way of position, obiection, and answers, whatsoeuer I thinke may either declare the lawfulnessse of this Crosse, or els answer any obiection to the contrary. For the which this position is in the first place to be set downe, (as to which all sorts of Christian professors in the world haue euermore agreed and subscribed) vntill of late some bold spirits (which dare set vpon any thing) haue encountered this grand position and Maxime in all state proceedings; namely, that there is no nation of Christian name so barbarous, but that in the administration of their baptisme publique or priuate, some decent rites and ceremonies seruing for orderly and comely performing of the same, haue beene inuented, vsed, and retained by them, ouer and besides such things as are directly prescribed for the administration thereof by holy scriptures. As *Bellarmino* obiecteth (and we neuer denied) to the *Lutherans*, *Zuinglians*, and such like, that vrge abrenuntiation, and vse other such like ceremonies: which both for reuerence to the ancient Churches the mothers of vs all that vse the same, and obedience to that Church wherein we liue, besides charity which we ow to our neighbor Churches, at least for our opinions, if not for our practise, are most reuerently to be esteemed of vs: and which may further serue (as *Cassander* sheweth) to declare the vertue, and commend the dignity and state thereof in this holy administration (besides many other reasons there rendred by him) to the simpler sort. Insomuch as the great obseruer of state-proceedings, aswell Ciuill, as especially Ecclesiasticall, *Melancton* wrote these words with great aduice no doubt, to one *Lonerus* a very scrupulous exceptor, and seuer and hasty censurer of his neighbour Churches: *Nunquam poterit esse tranquillitas nisi in ritibus dissimilibus*

Lib. 1. de Sacramentis cap. 24.
de ceremoniis Baptismi.

In Respons. ad obiectiones contra ceremonias in baptismo vsitas.

diffimilibus, addo etiam diffimulanda aliqua infirmitate equitatem & moderationem adhibebimus, mihi crede nobis etiam & illi multa condonat. And indeed besides the former reasons, even nature and common reason doe vrge and call for the same, it being all one in a manner to see a naked body without clothes, as any such solemnity for sacred or Ciuill administration without ceremony. And therefore as the Schooles say well, that circumstances doe cloath the humane actions for the morality thereof (be they good or bad,) so outward rites and seemly ceremonies giue the beauty & true decency to the same. Which being most requisite in all publikes for their better grace, according to their grauity, and auoyding all contempt (which otherwise doth easily follow such proceedings) so most of all in Gods seruice: whose house and euery the leatt meanes of his presence with vs, and our dealing with him, holynesse becommeth for euer, and all decency is too little. In which respect the Apostle himselfe doth not only leaue it arbitrarie to the Church of *Corinth*, and so to other Churches, to doe and see all things done in comeliness and order; much lesse directeth and prescribeth thereby, how things already precisely and particularly commanded in the word for euery circumstance and euery ceremony, ought to be mannaged and performed (as some of late are bould to interpret and define the meaning of the words to be so, and no otherwise:) but indeed, as the text sheweth, and common reason conuinceth, commandeth and enioyneth the gouernors of that Church, and so of euery particular Church, to appoint and ordaine all such things, as by the iudgement of such gouernours (and not of euery private humor or fancy) might best make for the comely ordering all things in publique, performable to God: as also for the greatest edifying of the whole Church first, and then of euery particular member thereof. Implying that without ceremonies and outward accomplements, there were no comeliness in any of our actions: which without, the same were like bare walles without any feeling, varnish, or painting. Secondly that without order, this colour and beauty of ceremonies, is no better

then a fayre face or sweete complexion with a most mishapen and monstrous body. Lastly all such meanes, be they neuer so seemly and so orderly, are little worth, vnlesse they be referred to edification the end of all: no more then a sweet fauour, and most comely proportion do profit one that hath an Atrophia, or heetick seauer and consumption in his bones, that no one part can doe his office or right vse for the good of the whole body. For indeed to speake with the Apostle, doth not very nature, common reason and experience teache that (as *Aristotle* long since obserued) no speciall rules can euer be giuen (I may say with truth and reuerence) by God or man in writing, or any other meanes of direction? whereby this comelinesse and good order for edification may generally be giuen for all particulars which are infinite and accordingly continually practised, for all times, Countries, Churches, and congregations alike; but that which is thought and is comely in one, and so may serue for order, and edifying to the same, is not so, nor can be so to another: besides that as the Apostle saith, we haue no such custome, which many times in any politick body becometh another nature (as we say) as well as in the state of any naturall body. Intimating that most of these things for outward ceremony tending to comelinesse & order, are very much determined and ouerswayed by custome, as in those two famous Epistles for this purpose, of *Ambrose* to *Augustine*, and *Augustine* againe to *Ianuarinus*, doth very plainly and plentifully appeare. And lastly to end this point of ceremonies in generall, Magistrates Ecclesiasticall are not only bound to make wholsome Lawes, determining many particulars, and the right vse thereof for the ends aboue named; but also all such Lawes and constitutions made by them, not repugnant to any part of Gods word, whether originally inuented and deriued from the primitiue Church, or more lately and particularly deuised since for any more speciall forme of gouernment by the immediate magistrates thereof, both for quality, and in some good proportion of equality also, as well bind a l liuing vnder those gouernments Ecclesiastical or Ciuil to a due respect and obe-

In the sixth
book of E-
thicks.

1. Cor. 11. 16.

Augustinus E-
pistol. 118. &
119.

obedience thereunto, as the ceremoniall and Iudaicall Lawes did bind the Iewes for those times, or any Ecclesiastical Lawes and traditions made by the Apostles themselves, as 1. Cor. 11. 2. and that by vertue of the fift commaundement, which tyeth all to obey in such indifferent points, which afterward becommeth necessary to euery subiect: neither must the Church now looke for immediate oracles, or Apostolicall directions, and extraordinary assistance and reuelations for the ordering euery particular (as at the first founding of Christian societies vnder *Moses* and the Apostles) vntill all things were fully settled for the legall seruice, & state of Churches vnder the Gospel; at what time God was pleased himselfe to be superintendent, King and Priest for both governments, before there was any settled forme in the world vnder the Law or Gospel, and so many things were extraordinarily carried by the Apostles, as in *Simon Magus*, *Ananias* and the excommunicated person giuen ouer to Satan, and euen *Moses* himselfe in sundry punishments for the breach of the Saboth, and such like, by speciall counsell and directions from Gods voice, and spirit speciall for those times. But the gouernors of the Church themselves, hauing now the spirit and word of God together, and so many precedents of Christian Churches for all state deliberations, and proceedings, may and ought to the end of the world determine of all such meanes within the compasse of Gods word, as they shall iudge to serue best for their seuerall times and states to comelinesse, order, and edification of the whole Church or any part thereof, as in the treatise of Subscription we haue more specially shewed.

Esay. 59. v. 21.

CHAP. II.

Shewing of the Crosse, and findeth it to be, of it selfe, in the number of indifferent and lawfull ceremonies: yea and in the right vse thereof necessary also, being once commanded by the Magistrate.



Ow in the second place, this position I hope shall be found and allowed to be as true, that not only amongst the tolerable & conuenient, but most seemly, orderly, and edifying ceremonies of the Church, the signe of the Crosse in speciall may very lawfully and safelie be reckoned and esteemed. The truth whereof may thus appeare, first because the vse of it in baptisme (as it is amongst vs) is not against any speciall commandement of God, by which all our actions and particulars in vse are to be examined, iustified, or condemned. Secondly, because it is very agreeable to comely order, both generally, and more speciall for the matter of baptisme, and so consequently very fit and profitable, and in some cases also necessary for the edification of the Church. Lastly because the vse of it hath beene very ancient and constant, even in the matter of religion, in that sense we vnderstand it and expound it, throughout the Church of God, and thereupon also adiudged and commanded the rather to be retained of our Church and many best reformed Churches in the world. For the first (because for the answering of the obiections which is the second part of this treatise, it will better appeare) I will be the briefer in it: and only shew that it is neither against the first, second, or third commandements; but especially the second, which this Crosse so much crosseth (if these mens iudgements might goe for authentically expositions of that commandement. And indeed that which wise *Socrates* (who diued as far as natures light and strength could giue him, into the manifold depths of those two generall differences, *bonum* and *malum*)

sum) perceiued to be the hardest taske for all those Doctōrs to distinguish of good and euill, may more truely be auerred of our Diuinity Matters, who for want of looking right into this perfect Lawe of liberty, which with the Euangelicall harmony are the hardest taskes of our profession, put very often euill for good, and good for euill; and so are so farre to seeke in the right assoyling so many weake ones in cases of conscience, as that they not only wound themselues, and many others, through their peremptory assertions and determinations, in cases very doubtfull and difficult; but contrary to *Salmōns* rule, iustifie the wicked and condemne the innocent, which both together are abominable. Inso much as some worthy Diuines hold yet opinion, that all errors, schismes and heresies in the world haue still proceeded from the ignorance and misconceiuing and construing of the nature & properties of God and sinne discovered in this law. Now of those three commandements, the first concerneth the hauing and worshipping of the true God, and none other; the second, all meanes to conceiue of him and serue him by: and the third, the manner how to vse these meanes, and to haue and serue this God aright thereby. If therefore the vse of the Crosse do neither incounter nor incumber any of these three, the aduersaries will surely grant, that it is simply and in it selfe neyther against these, nor any other commandement of God. For the first, our doctrine neuer teacheth nor alloweth any of the least part of worship any way to belong to the best creature, much lesse to any image of this Crosse, which is but a bare signe, and of no good thing in it selfe, but of a forme and signe made for such a tormenting engine (which yet by accident became through Gods permission a meanes of the best things and all good vnto vs) howsoeuer it be taken in wood, stone or metall, much lesse conceited in the mind, or imagined by any fancy, by meanes of any transient and aërious signe as ours is. Neither must the vse of a thing, much lesse any part of the Church of God thereupon in their doctrine or practise, be condemned for any particular or accidentall abuse of this Crosse, or

Prou. cap. 17.
vers. 15.

*Irenæus lib.
10. cap. 24. de
Gnosticis &
Carpocratianis*

*In his answer
to the first Ar-
ticle pag. 173.*

any other ceremony, so long as the nature of the thing remaineth indifferent, and the received and maintained doctrine of that Church is against them. For so do we teach, and so ought all both ministers and people to beleue detesting all doctrine and abuses to the contrary, that this our Crosse either mental, aiërous, or expressed in any visible forme, is so far from hauing any Diuine power in it naturally, (which is the highest idolatry) or transfused from Christ and the Crosse which he hanged vpon, and so into all other Crosses accordingly (which is a peeuish conceit of the Papists amongst the rest) or els infused by any especial promise or grace of God, either into the thing it selfe, or vpon the best vse of it, according to the solemne orders of any Church to that end, whereby it hath any power to procure good, or turne away euill (which many hereticks and idolaters haue giuen vnto it, and doe yet at this day) but only hold it to be a bare ceremony inuented by man for other good vses in the Church. And for the second commandement we teache and hold in like manner, that this Crosse which we vse in any kind or difference, is no meanes either to expresse or comprehend God, or any person of the Trinity in or vnder it (as thereby the better to serue them, which is the first thing provided against in this commandement) nay yet to be any meanes at all of Gods worship, which ought only to be appointed by himselfe, and therefore giueth commandement thereunto, and to the obseruers thereof; who thereby doe homage vnto God, and procure blessings and good things to themselues, which is the second thing enioyned by the same, and the very summe of cautions giuen touching Gods worship in this second commandement: onely our Church retayneth it as an indifferent ceremony, as Master *Fulke* also in the like case answereth to *Marshall's* reply against Master *Calfield* about this matter for the vse of this Crosse in the primitive Church. For the third none of the reformed Churches where this Crosse is vsed, make it any part of the forme outward or inward, or els any meanes of the least part of Gods worship, as if without it holy baptisme were not rightly administred, or
with

with it were in any respect of God, or any power or vse of the Sacrament the better thereby administred (all which might incur some breach of the third commandement) but as our Canons explaine themselves, the whole matter of the Sacrament for the whole substance, matter, forme and manner thereof is perfected and ended before any vse thereof bee
Second reason,
 once admitted or named : For the second reason, proving the lawfulnessse of this ceremony, it appeareth from hence, because it is very fit and agreeable to the three generall rules prescribed by Saint *Paul* for all ceremonies to be vsed in the Church, namely edification, comelinesse and order. As for the latter two, to be comely and orderly, the iudgement, commandement and common vse thereof by any Church, doe sufficiently argue the same, in respect that this signe of the Crosse (as aboue shewed) is as comely, and indeed more fit for the ceremonies of Baptisme then any other. And is not only generally commanded, and that aboue other ceremonies, as being of most auncient vse in most of the Churches in the world, & so iudged more besitting this comelinesse : but for order sake, and auoiding confusion, and many other scandals by name of ceremonies (which disordered persons of all sorts would daily bring into the Church) is particularly retained, and the constant and continuall vse thereof so precisely vrged and required amongst vs by the gouernors of our Church. So that in respect of these two, comelinesse and order, we do not deny but that any other such like ceremonies were euery way as lawfull, in case they were as particularly commanded, and as generally vsed in the Church of God: in the which, vse and constitution giue as it were both matter and forme to all such ceremonies. But for the first of these three wherein we auouche that this Crosse may serue for edification, it haply containeth more difficulty, and I am sure most of those enemies to this Crosse of Christ, doe with both hands and heeles fight and spurne against it. Which yet I presume may as easily be prooued as the other : as first of all because it representeth and calleth to our minds that speciall meanes of Christ his abasement

and sufferings, as by which more specially aboue all other it pleased God and our Lord and Sauour Christ, to haue our peace procured, and all curses to be taken away from vs through that one cursed kind of death. Insomuch as the holy Ghost by the Prophets in the old Testament, and by the Apostles in the new, especially Saint *Paul* that Euangelicall trumpet (as *Chrysostome* often calleth him) seemeth very greatly to delight in the word, both by vsing it sinecdochically for the whole matter and meanes of our redempcion, as also giuing it a prerogatiue and power (respectiue to the thing signified by it, and not to the Crosse it selfe, much lesse this the least kind of signe of it) to worke and import all graces by it, and comfortable reioycing in vs: in respect whereof also it seemeth that the Church from time to time hath made such choise of it, and vse also in most of their holy administations. Secondly because it helpeth our manifold weakneses and infirmities, as well for meanes of knowledge, as also helps of memory: and therefore Master *Perkins*, and *Zanchinus* also before him allow the very image and picture of Christ himselfe, for the better learning and remembring the history of his person and passions especially: and yet both of them (I knowe not how) especially master *Zanchinus* in his posthume writings, in which some Ghost oftentimes may be discerned to speak, rather then himselfe, are much opposite to the vse of this Crosse in Baptisme: Howbeit it is cleere from that one commandement of Saint *Paul* (if there were none other) besides the generall equity of all Gods commandements especially the second, together with the precedents and practises of all Churches euen vnder the Lawe, and before, but specially since the time of greater liberty vnder the Gospell; that the gouernors of euery Church not only may, but ought also to inuent and appoint sundry decent and conuenient ceremonies, as may best serue for the edification of their seuerall Churches committed vnto them; and that as well for the outward as inward senses, for the stirring and mouing of affection by musique, or such like, helping the phantasie, knowledge, iudgement,

con-

Galath. 6.
Fulke & Perkins
observe, as
Bellarmine.

1. Cor. 14.

conscience, or memory of man in any thing wherein they haue to deale with God; and so any Church, Master of Family, or priuate Christian, may very lawfully ordaine any kinde of meanes naturall, or artificiall, wherein their owne manifold infirmities (which are eue more greatest and so appeare in dealing with God) may the better be helped and supplied: & that so far and no farther (which alwayes I desire to be remembred by way of exposition to the second commaundement) as such inuentions of men are referred to themselues only, and haue no respect primarily or directly to God and his seruice, as wherewith God may any way the rather be pleased, or his seruice in respect of it selfe or any speciall and proper meanes thereof, be thereby any one iot the better performed. Neither can I (nor any other I thinke) see any reason at all, why by art and humane inuention those many defects of ours may not as well be supplied and releued, as by the meanes of naturall things created by God, or falling out diuersly by his prouidence. Which none of these Crossers of our Church ceremonies doe mislike: but rather teache and command from the obseruation of the new yeare, new Moon, washing of the hands and such like, to be put in mind of the washing of our hearts and newnes of life, which is the summe of all Christian life and doctrine. Yea and that which is more, in the very vse of baptisme (which elsewhere also is remembred, and cannot sufficiently be vrged against these exceptors) man may inuent and appoint a significant name, by their doctrine importing all the duties of Christian profession, (as Feare God, Repent, and such like) which are now in vse, and proper names of some liuing: and yet the whole Church should not haue power to ordaine ceremonies to put vs in minde of these holy things and duties. Neither secondly why the Church vnder the Lawe (wherein she had least libertie for any such inuentions, being vnder the Pedagogy and seuer discipline of that ceremoniall Lawe) might and did very lawfully inuent ceremonies, the better to helpe them in the practise of repentance, by putting dust and ashes vpon their heads,

In emendatione
temporis.

In secundo lib.
de Anima.

in token of their great humiliation, and that they deserved to be vnder the earth; in their speciall facts also and feasts of Purim, Dedication, or rather Restauration of the Temple, &c. And that now when not only the greatest liberty is purchased to the Church since Christ his death (and that for these proceedings especially in all matters of ceremony : but also the selfesame power in good proportion of quality, albeit not wholly equall, is now in the Church, which before the ceremoniall Lawe it selfe did beare and carry with it) this liberty of the Church should be so much incumbred and restrained by these new and hard masters : as namely for that which *Scalliger* reporteth of a famous ceremony inuented and vsed by the Iewes in the celebrating their Passeouer, in which the Master of the family tooke a piece of bread, wrapt it in a napkin, and after dipped it in vinegar, or some other liquor, to the end that all might aske and further vnderstand the mystery of those matters, with this long speech and exhortation together: This is the bread of affliction which our Fathers did eat in the wildernesse, all that are willing let them come and eate of the Passeouer : all which were famous ceremonies of their owne inuention, and most significant meanes of those great mysteries; and yet I hope (as none yet euer durst) these condemners of all humane inuentions in any part of Gods seruice, will not mislike any of them. Neither yet lastly doe I see it to be any otherwise then that which is dayly vsed by themselves and all other in their sermons, and shadowing most high and heauenly things by similitudes, Emblems, Hyeroglyphicks, or any kind of hypotiposis (which yet in all formes of preaching are most common and familiar) as to expresse the mysterie and doctrine of the Trinity by a triangle (as *Aristotle* did the soule) and such like very many which were superfluous to repeat, the matter being no otherwise then as he said of a picture and poetry compared together, that *Pictura* was *tacens poesis*, and *poesis loquens pictura*. To which for a third reason, the comparing of this Crosse with some other things of more particular likenesse and proportion may be added, as that ceremony

ny of washing the feet. *Iohn. 13.* by Christ himselfe, women to be couered in the Church of *Corinth*, in token of subiection, and the wearing of white garments by those that were lately absolued, or lately receiued into the Church in token of their innocency, and pardon of their sinnes: whereupon came that *Dominica in albis* yet retained in our Church, and haply the name of *Whitsontide*, vntill which time many did weare such garments. And also the vsing of white sheets after repentance professed, and absolution giuen by the Church; the picturing or painting of Death his head, or Death it selfe, to put vs in minde of mortality, or any other meanes for morall vertues to be learned or expressed, as *Zanchius* himselfe alloweth. And indeed before writing or Printing were in vse, there was no other meanes for the helping of memory, or any other kinde of instruction for knowledge, or manners, but by signes and Pictures, as in all the *AEgyptian* Hieroglyphicks, and other meanes in *Herodotus*, and yet writing began but from *Moses*, whom God first taught (as it is very probably gathered) this skill by his owne practise in writing first the ten Tables; and the other of Printing but since our Fathers daies. So likewise the same *Zanchius* misliketh not the painting of Christ his passion, transfiguration and such like, yea the very Image of Christ in some cases, both which *Melancthon* concludeth by way of answer and counsell (how a dumbe person might receiue the Lords Supper) to be necessary and not indifferent only for the instructing of such persons, thereby to help their iudgements, affections, and knowledge also towards the receiuing of that Sacrament. Which being in some cases lawfull and expedient at the least (if not absolutely necessary, because as shall be more fully answered hereafter, no circumstance can make or mar the morality of any thing to be good or bad) it cannot simply be wicked or vnlawfull, but if in priuate and at sundry times, and in certaine persons they be lawfull, they cannot be essentially and in their owne nature euill; and if these be any way to be allowed, there is no reason that the Crosse should be by so many meanes refused and condemned.

De operibus
Inutilibus cap.
de Imaginibus.

In Consiliis
theologicis.
pag. 168.

Ioshua the 22.
chap. vers. 27.

ned. To which those two in *Ioshua* may be added out of the Scripture it selfe, the one concerning that Altar built by the two tribes and the halfe, least they should be made in time to come to forget the name of the Lord their God : The other as touching a stone reared and set vp by *Ioshua* himselfe, and that to this end and none other, as *verse. 27. of Chap. 24.* appeareth, that it might be a witnesse against them, and so first of all a memoriall vnto them, least they should deny the Lord, or depart from his seruice, according to their vowe and promise made, *verse. 24. of the same chapter.* Both which if they were not made and set vp for some kind of religious vse at the least (especially that latter appointed by the chiefe Magistrate himselfe, *Ioshua*, and that in no priuate place, but vnder an Oke that was in the Sanctuary of the Lord; *vers. 26.* (howsoeuer the sense be caried and the words expounded) I cannot see what they will, or doe vnderstand by a religious vse, if such famous and most publick meanes for the helping of vs to continue and perseuere in Gods seruice, and against all Apostasie, deserue not so to be called ; the particular enforcing of which points may better be reserved to those answers which we haue framed and applyed to the manifold obiections made against this Crosse.

CHAP. III.

Auouching the generall allowance of this Crosse by the practise of ancient times, and iudgement of learned Fathers, with their reasons, for the inuventing and retaining thereof, and other iudicious late writers accordingly.



THE last reason for the lawfulnessse of this ceremony is taken from the antiquity of it, and the iudgements of learned men thereabout. For the first, howsoeuer it be disputed by the learned, and doubted in what forme and manner it was first taken and expresseed, and many haue guessed that for a long time it was only an aërious signe

figne, and vsed no otherwise then as in our Baptisme at this day (for which they cite *Tertullian* in many places:) yet doth it plainly appeare by the stories of *Irenaeus*, *Philaster*, *Arnobius*, and *Nicephorus*, and generally agreed vpon by all the learned, that both the thing it selfe, and some good vse of it hath been very ancient in the Church of God. And albeit that which *Irenaeus* reporteth, may seeme vpon the first view to argue some greater abuse of this Crosse, yet is it cleere as wel by that, and other stories, and the very rules of reason it selfe, that it was first, and so of necessity must be well vsed, before it was, or possibly could be abused, according to that rule set downe by *Aristotle* in the fourth of his *Ethicks*, whatsoeuer is vsed may be abused, and so contrariwise; and indeed the better the thing and ordained to the best vse, is soonest and most fowly abused, as the finest cloth is soonest stained, as commonly not onely those of the *Gnosticks* and *Valentinians* (which first abused this Crosse, and the Image of the virgin *Maria*) but all other hereticall practises haue proceeded from some good ground and beginning, and from things well vsed to the manifold and highest abuse of the same. For so doubtlesse many after the death of Christ tooke both his owne picture, and the picture of the virgin his mother, & so consequently of the Crosse it selfe (as in *Irenaeus* it appeareth, and *Iustine Martir*) in token of their loue and due remembrance they bare, and ought to haue to him that liued in the true shape of man so many years; was borne of a virgin, and died also for our sakes vpon the Crosse. And therefore Saint *Cyrill* answereth *Iulian* that Apostata, that if the Romanes made so much of *Iupiter* his Eagle, and the chayre of *Numa*, the Christians might much more (which *Iulian* so much derided) retaine the Crosse of Christ, and the signe thereof in remembrance of him that dyed vpon the Crosse, which are his owne words. And therefore the Christians at this day set vp the signe of this Crosse in their banners and Bounders against the Turkes, who like vile Antichrist, bid daily battell, and shew their continuall defiance against Christ and his Crosse. Whereupon commeth another

Lib. 1. cap. 24.
Lib. 8 contra
Gentes.

Lib 7. cap. 36.

Aristot. Ethick
4. lib. cap. 4.

Primo ratio,
Iustine martir
in dialogo cum
Iudæo Triph.
& alibi.
Nazianzene in
his epist. vbi
multade Cruce
hac.

Lib. 6. contra
Iulianum
p. 135.

Secunda.

N

reason

1. Cor. 2. cap.

Nazianzenus
his ENNEUTICA.

† 40804.

συμφωρον
Philaster de
hæresibus.In his preface
vpon Iob, row
ard the end.

reason that mooued the Christians so aunciently to vse this Crosse in some kinde or other; for when the Christians were vpbrayded by those many Gretians & the Gentiles which (as *Paul* complained in his time) made but a mocke and scorne of the Crosse and all Christian religion, saying, they beleeued in a crucified God: the Christians of purpose inuented this ceremonie and signe of the Crosse, to testifie (as we remember also in our forme of Baptisme) that they were not ashamed of the Crosse of Christ, nor afraide to confesse him that died vpon the Crosse, as Saint *Cirill* sheweth in the place aboue cited, and Saint *Augustine* more especially in his eight sermon, *de verbis Apostoli* and els where in these words: *Cor quidem habemus, non tamen quale vos habetis, nec pudet nos crucifixi, sed in parte ubi signum pudoris est, signum Crucis eius habemus.* And that these scoffing Grecians did so despise Iesus as *Herode* did, and scorned them that professed him, besides *Iulian* that great Apostata (against whome Saint *Nazianzene* and Saint *Cirill* wrote so many things in defence of Christ, and specially this Crosse in the sixt booke) I desire all to consider of that one testimony (and not to trouble them with any more from the blasphemies of *Porphirie*, *Celsus* and the rest of that wicked crew) which *Lucian* hath left behind him in that treatise of his (which he calleth the Rabble of Lyers) where amongst the rest he reckoneth our Lord Iesus (who is blessed for euer) calling him that Syrian Sophister nailed vnto the Crosse or Tranfixum Palo. In regard whereof some of the Christians vsed the signe of the Crosse in their Rings, some at the entrance of their doores as *Cirill* reporteth, some in their foreheads, and some in a præposterous zeale branded their owne flesh withall. The like also was practised by the Iewes, calling our Sauour Christ in the greatest disgrace *Suspensum*, the hanged man. To whome that of *Hierome* may very fitly be opposed, as arguing both the antiquity and lawfulness of the ceremony, and more specially directed by the author himselfe to *Aquila* the Iew, and the rest, whose words are these, *Ego qui de Christianis parentibus natus sum, & vexillum Crucis in frons em porto, &c.* wherein that
godly

godly father sheweth his iust grieve and indignation, that his translation was not so well regarded as that of *Aquila, Symmachus* and the rest, *indaizantes heretici* (as he calleth them) who little respected the honor of Iesus, as he sheweth there; who yet was to be the end and rule of all translations, as *Zanchinus* obserueth, and the spirit of all prophesie is the testimonie of Iesus, *Reuel. 17*. The last reason for the ancient vse thereof was (as *Lactantius* and Saint *Augustine* doe guesse) the imitation and expressing of that ceremony which was vsed before the eating of the Paschall Lamb, by crossing the postes of eache house with the bloud; but indeed the true reason both last and best of all, was that good vse and end the Christians made of it, all one with that which we haue aboue specified, namely to put them in mind of Christ and his passions, and to teache them what they had to indure as marked thereunto by this signe, of which Saint *Cirill* speaketh most plainlie: *Hec omnia recordari nos facit salutare illud lignum*, and presently after: *Pre-*
ciosi Ligni Crucem facimus in memoriam omnis boni & omnia vir-
tutis, & Christi qui hec pro nobis in cruce perpassus est: and Saint *Augustine* in his 20 chap. *De Catechizandis rudibus*, and 8. E-
 pistle, speaking to one that was to be baptised, hath these words: *Crucis signo in fronte hodie tanquam in poste signandus &c.*
 To which may be added that of *Dionysius* and Saint *Basil*. and much more arguing the auncient vse of the Crosse from those many things falling out, and so commonly and generally knowne and practised in Constantine his time about the same. But seeing that which hath been aboue remembered sheweth both the ancient vse of this ceremony, and all the reasons for their inuenting and vsing the same agreeing very fitly and euery way to our times (in which so many Lucianists and Atheists, besides Iewes also in many places of Christendome, abound and are present also many times at our baptisimes) I hope I shall not need to spend any more time about this matter which (as I heare) hath exercised many other of late, who I presume haue made these stories and records very common and familiar. Only I will adde a word or two in remembering the

De operibus
creationis in
præfatione.
3 Ratio.

Lib. 6. & pag.
135. 136. a-
gainst Iulian
the Apostate.

Ecclesi hierar.
cap. de Baptis.
Basil. de spir.
sancto.

Against D.
Sanders and
Martiall.

Bucer also in his
Catechis. and
de recto usu sacri
ministerii.

Cassander de
Baptismo in-
fanrum pag.
95. &c. & in
Thesibus op-
positis thesibus
cuiusdam im-
probantis bap-
tismi ceremo-
nias.

In controuersia
de baptismo.

the iudgements of some learned men concerning the lawfulness of this Crosse, wherein because the iudgements of the Ancient fathers (which indeede some of them gaue to much vnto it) as Saint *Chrysostome* &c) may iustly be suspected, and are so censured by *Fulke*; I will alledge some fewe against whome the very aduersaries themselves haue neuer as yet (for some of them I am sure) taken any exception As first for *Luther* and *Melanchton*, who with master *Bucer* are worthily reputed, as aboue noted, for the learnedest Diuines in their times. The first in his Catechisme, and the other in their Epistles and theologicall counsels allowing not onely the vse of the Crosse, but also of hony, salt, holy water & such like, which in these dayes are taken simply and in euery respect by those that haue little skill to examine the truth thereof, for damnable Idolatry. Which yet *Cassander* in a more speciall treatise thereupon, doth not only maintaine, but sheweth also many good reasons for the inuention and continuing the same in the Church of God: But for the other two, Docter *Fulke* and Docter *Whitakers*, two most worthy ornaments of our English nation, I presume none will refuse them in this or any other argument, the one making the Crosse an indifferent ceremonie, and in regard of some of the reasons aboue rehearsed, of good and necessary vse; whose particular words for one place amongst the rest I thinke good to set downe out of his answer and Reioynder to *Martiall* his reply, Article 5. pag. 173: The Christians among the Pagans marked themselves with the signe of the Crosse, in token that they professed him that was crucified: afterward to put themselves in mind of the death of Christ, these were tollerable vses of an indifferent ceremony. The other of Docter *Whitakers* in his last readings almost that euer he had in the vniuersity of Cambridge (which many heard as well as my selfe) auouching that not only the signe of the Crosse, but also salt, hony and oyle might very safely be vsed in the administration of baptisme, without conscience of some, if there were the like reason to vs for the vse thereof, as was to those speciall primitiue Churches: or else the gouernors

of

of any Church should iudge the same fit or requisite to be v-
sed. And thus much for the reasons shewing the lawfulnessse,
fitnesse, and good vse of the Crosse, to which I will adde the
excellent conclusion of *Cassander* in the place aboue named.
Hoc tantum hoc loco efficere volumus, antiquissimas has & longo vsu
confirmatas ceremonias (quæ citra impietatem seruari possunt) non
esse temere insectandas, nec pertinaciter violandas, nec earum causa
Ecclesias in quibus adhuc earum vsus retinetur perturbandas: sed ex
Christiana charitate pacis & unitatis studio obseruandas; adhibitis
his cautionibus, ut superstitionis periculosa siquid immineat, occurrat,
& nihilominus huius Sacramenti institutio, vsus & mysterium
fidelibus studiose explicetur, & amplissime commendetur, ut &
Christo suus ex fide honor, & Ecclesie sua ex charitate reuerentia
tribuat.

CHAP. IIII.

*Examining and answering those many reasons which are vsually al-
ledged against the Crosse, or any other such ceremonies to be simply
wicked: and to be, not in themselves and in their owne nature,
viterly unlawfull.*



Ow it followeth to consider of such
reasons as haue beene vsually and of
late more especially obiected against it
and the vse of it in our Church: the
which for order sake may thus be deu-
ded. Namely to be such as would argue
it to be vtterly vnlawfull in it owne na-
ture euery way, or els respectiue-
ly, and by accidentall abuse and scandall
thereupon, since first it hath beene deuised and vsed in the
Church and Sacrament of Baptisme. Of the first kind, the first
and worst of all I thinke is that strange assertion broched by
some of late sort, but originally deriued from the Manichees,
& sometimes but in a more scholer-like sort & cause taken vp
by that learned *Lutheran Iliricus*; that nothing in the world

for choyce or vse, and whole nature of it is indifferent to any: but either simply and particularly forbidden or commanded: and so not only the crosse, but all other ceremonies inuented by man, and orders in ciuill things for any good vse in the Church especially, or common wealth, to be vtterly vnlawful. To which a double answer may be rendred: First that the very ground of this kind of building is very sandy & vnfound, taking away, and euen abolishing the very nature of things and order of Gods creation: whereas the trueth is, both many actions of men, much more the quality and condition of somethings in themselues, are neither good nor bad; but indifferent, and so are left to mans choice or refusall: so that if he do them, or do them not, vse them or vse them not, more or lesse, no conscience of sinne (as *Luther* speakes out of *Augustine*) can arise from them: such are, to vse or not to vse this or that meate drinke or apparrell, which defile not the man, to exercise this or that kind of recreation, and to doe the one and not the other, or none of them both oftner, or more seldome, longer or lesse while, and such like. Yea in morall and will actions themselues, to giue thus much or thus little to that man, rather then another, as acts of curtesie and gratuity, and such like a thousand & Ecclesiasticall also, as singing & ceremonies more or lesse. In somuch as some (and euen master *Beza* himselfe) not without good shew of trueth and reason for it, haue spoken and written the cleane contrary: and made all actions whatsoever in themselues to be neither good nor bad, but indifferent: as the actes of the foulest sinnes, murther and adultery, in the matter of warre and extreme punishment: and matrimoniall duties are then good, and therefore not simply wicked, being once clothed with their due circumstances (as the Schooles speake) which make euery action good or bad. The morality whereof *Aristotle* that great Master maketh to consist in the manner of doing, and end for which it is done: including therein the intent of the doer, and due circumstances thereunto belonging. Which point being somewhat nyce and easily drawne into abuse, I wish should very warily be handled,

Mat. 15.

In Opusculis.

Lib. 3. of his
Ethicks.

led, and wisely harkned vnto, for feare of that which experience hath shewed in some to cast all hand ouer head as in *Iob.* 22. and *Mala.* 3. vers. 14. and such like : howbeit if their meaning be of any action already done, or any thing already vsed as being determined of before in our choice to any end, accompanied with circumstances necessarily following the same, then we ioyn with them against all indifferency, and the disputation were very friuolous, and *de non ente*, as we say. Secondly we answer that in case such expresse commandement were necessary for euery particular thing & action, especially in all matters of Gods seruice, there is sufficient expresse warrant (as we haue aboue shewed) for this and other ceremonies to make them good and necessary also being once commaunded (*ex necessitate mandati* at the least *ut schola*) to be vsed; as namely that place in the Corinthians which chargeth the Church gouernors to ordaine all things tending to decencie, order and edifying in the church, and not only (as these newe Masters would haue it) to see all things particularly expressed in the word to be done with such decency and due circumstances, according to the speciall commandements of GOD herein, which were infinite, and so impossible; and answerably all vnder authority to obey and vse the same, for otherwise a man might preache in his doublet and hose, or any other more disguised apparell, for any thing is any where particularlie commanded or forbidden to the contrary. And as it is most credibly reported of one of these (rather wilfull then weake refusers of our ceremonies) in Northhamptonshire, that lighting from horseback in trauellers array, both preached the word and administred the Sacrament in those riding habites, booted and spurd, all vgly and spattered, saying that all other fit behaviours were but ceremonies. And I maruaile what warrant these men haue for their Turkish gowns, pretty kinds of ruffes and such like many (which we no way condemne) more then we haue for the Surplise and Crosse and other ceremonies, there being as much for this first argument and many other that follow to be said against them, as against these,

except

1. Cor. 14. v. 26.
and 40. compared together.

except only they are therefore lesse warrantable, because they are commanded by the Magistrate, and Christian magistrate also, either whereof make them from being indifferent altogether necessary. The second reason to prooue them simply wicked is in brieft thus much, that because they are outward formes deuised by mā to vse of religion, they are flatly against the second commandement being indeed such as in their kind are worshipped, or at the least made means of worship, as they say, and included in that cōdemning word in the second commandement: Thou shalt not worship them, &c: as whereby all vse of religion is signified, and things vsed therein inuented by man whatsoeuer. For answer whereunto we haue alreadye about shewed what is forbidden according to the true meaning and scope of the word *worship*, or the second commandement and word of God in generall, Where first it is to be noted, that no other outward formes howsoeuer deuised by man to any vse whatsoeuer, are any farther forbidden therein then as they are inuented or any way vsed to represent the incomprehensible God or any person of the Trinity, for their better conceiuing of them or worshipping of them thereby: or els secondly to be any meanes of the same nature with the word, Sacrament, and such like, wherby to worship and please God, &c. for which God will certainly according to his word and promise blesse the vsers thereof. Now God forbid that our Crosse or any other ceremonies should haue any such vse, intent or meaning in them, but only (as we said before) at the most to stir, guide and direct vs, and our weaknesse (beyond which, I meane our selues, they haue no vse or consideration at all toward religion) to the more zealous, seruent, decent and orderly performing any of our obsequies and seruices to God. And so to grant that by the word to worship, all religious seruice is meant (which notwithstanding is wholly contained in the first commandement) yet dorth it no way touch this Crosse, which hath no such religious vse in it, or any way allowed to be exercised and performed in any kind or least degree by it: but only to be a memoratiue signe vnto vs to helpe our weaknesse,

nesse, and a manifest and worthy argument to others especially Christ his enemies, how wee are not ashamed of this his badge and cognisance, so termed and accounted not vnfitlie of vs that vse it: and hath not any reference at al to God either to expresse him by, or any of the persōs in Trinity, or to worship him therein, as any meanes thereof, which are the things that are only forbidden and condemned in the second commandement, and not against the helpes of nature and art to supply mans wants and weaknesse in dealing with God, & in respect of any duety to be performed by him, which in all ages had been and must needs be inuēted and appointed for the decēt, orderly, and more powerfull and liuely performing any duty to God or man.

The third reason to shew it most wicked, is because the thing it selfe is worshipped and so is Idolatrous (as some except) or at the least, the vse of it and other ceremonies, as the best studied of them haue obiected, is diuine worship. Which if it be true, both are flatly against the first commaundement in the highest degree, which forbiddeth any thing to be worshipped but the onely true God, and all kinds, parts and manners of worship inward or outward to be giuen to any but to him only; and so also against the second commandement inhibiting and condemning all kinds and meanes of worship, but such as himselfe shall appoint and allow, whereof the Crosse and all such ceremonies we al confesse are none. But to answer this argument, if the first were true (I durst confidently say) we had no true Church at all, or at the least any sound but a most sicke one (*vt Mornens de Romana*) that shold maintaine by doctrine and practise such damnable Idolatry: which was euer the cause of diuorce betwixt God and his old people, I meane for GOD his giuing them ouer to strange iudgements, as Master *Greenham* that godly and wise man well obserued. And it is a wonder (as our wise Soueraigne of late answered some of them) that hauing such an opinion of our Church and ceremonies, they should endure to stay so long in it. And for the second, we flatly deny the vse of the Crosse or any other to be

In the Canons

In his counsels
and godly
Letters.

in any sence diuine worship, or any part of it, yea or so much as any way properly belonging to the essence and nature of it, or necessarily required to it, or in it: as if either the doing of it were a thing or action proceeding from vs, pleasing or honoring God withall, or so much as any signe vsed by vs to testifie any part of our worship to God, or to declare the same thereby vnto men. For then indeede it were meere will-worship, and such as for which God would rather many waies curse vs then blesse vs at all, as *Esa* 1. and 2. *Coloss*: Nay we make it not so much as the least meanes of God his worship, which were certainly euill and forbidden by the second commandement. And whereas it is further obiected to this argument, that these ceremonies are therefore diuine worship, because the legall ceremonies were diuine worship, being euery way of the same nature; I answer first, that no Diuinity can make it good that any ceremony legall or Euangelicall (neuer so much cōmanded, is in any sence to be called worship, or allowed for any part of it (both which belong to the first commandement) all worship being some kind of action inward or outward, from the inferior to the superior: whereas the ceremonies of the Law it selfe, are cleane of another nature, being at the most none other then meanes, or rather helpes appointed by God for those times, for the more easie seruing of him, and keeping that stubborne people vnder the yoake of that pedagogy, when the Church was yet in her infancy; and so the true consideration of them, their nature, and vse is vnder the second commandement.

Secondly we answer that the legall ceremonies and those wee speake of, differ as farre as the two Sacraments of the Gospell from all other holy signes and representations of holy things; for as the word of commandement and promise maketh them Sacraments, as *Augustine* saith well, and so meanes of Gods worship and certaine good things to our selues: so all other deuõide of that word promising aswell as commanding, remaine matters of another nature, and doe indeed differ essentially, which is as we say in Schooles, *genere & definitione*: So that

that if we would define those ceremonies and Sacraments, we must giue them a Genus æquiual from this commandement of GOD, as whose nature is in this kind of our conceiuing them now altered to be indeed ordinances of God, as *Exo. 12.* *1. Cor. 11.* and *Cor. 11.* whereas the other are only actions of men, or things inuented & made choice of by them, and so remaine for their proper notion and terme to my mind; howsoeuer ordained to holy vses by them that haue authority to separate and determine things to such vses, who haue no kind of power to make such ordinances being only to be appointed by GOD, as the second commandement prouideth. Neither are ill actions in Gods worship, or whereby God is better worshipped by vs (much lesse signes, helps and meanes therein) presently the worship of God it selfe; neither yet are all ceremonies actions: but whether they be actions, gestures, or any outward habites ordained and appointed only by man, they are no other but helps only; howbeit commanded once by God as the legall ceremonies were, the best and greatest of them are but meanes and helps whereby the better and more easily to worship GOD by; and in those such meanes as he hath appointed priuately or publicquely with any power, faculty or action of body or soule, which are the sole and all the parts of Gods worship from man. And lastly I conclude this answer, that these ceremonies we speake of, are neither in themselves worship of God, or any meanes thereof, nor yet any strange manner of seruing God, so often condemned in holy Scripture, with that determination herein of *Georgius Cassander* in his answer to one that carped at and condemned all ceremonies vsed in baptisme. *Alicuius modus est colendi Deum: qui vel pugnat cum vero cultu, vel abducit a vero cultu Dei* (which is a short summe of things forbidden in the second commandement) *non qui eo institutus est ut homines ad verum Dei cultum ducat, & ad eius observationem informet.* Nor any other meanes as helps to our weaknesse are forbidden by Christ in the fifteenth of *Mathew* vnder these words (In vaine doe they worship me, teaching for doctrines mens precepts or traditions) but onely such as

In responsione
ad obiectiones
contra cere-
monias in bap-
tismo vtilitatis.

Mat. 15. v. 9.

whereby the superstitious heart of man supposeth to please GOD, or any way *demereri Deum* (as wee say) to procure GODS mercy and goodnesse to vs, or whereby (as Christ himselfe objected to the Iewes) the commandement of GOD, or any part thereof is preiudiced, made voide, or incumbered, not adorned and helped forward, as by these we speake of. That other reason of being an Image & so forbidden by name (and in their sense also by the second commandement) albeit *Peter Martir* and Bishop *Iewell* also (as Doctor *Fulke* remembreth against *Sanders*) about this argument of Images, will not grant the Crosse vsed by vs, or els as it was vsed in the primitiue Church, to be any Image at al: yet because in the largest extent and true signification of the Hebrew word vsed to signifie the same, or at the least some such thing forbidden in that commandement, we will not (as indeed we need not) oppose their authority in this point; seeing as we haue aboue shewed, no such kind of Images are any way forbidden by the true scope and meaning of that commandement in generall, or any particular word or clause contained therein, or any part of God his word; being no waies made, nor by any meanes allowed or defended to represent the Godhead or any person of the Trⁱnity, or els to be any meanes at all for our better conceiuing or seruing any of them: much lesse as to which the least part of diuine worship inward or outward is or ought to be performed or applied, which the first commandement directly prouideth against, and which I take it, is the summe of all our defenses or replies vsed by any of our learned writers for the vse or abuse of the Crosse, or against any kind of Images. About which (I suppose) there would neuer haue bin such hot and vnecessary contention betwixt the East and West Churches of GOD in generall, if these things had beene thoroughly considered of, and the controuersie it selfe (so farre as it may be so truely and in it owne nature termed) fully discussed and determined. But because I haue in the second Chapter sampled these things, together with many particulars of like nature, as namely one about the rest to paint Deaths head, to

put

put vs in mind of Death, and to prepare vs thereunto, would equally be found vnlawfull by their expositions and exceptions, or to write any thing in greater letters for better remembrance of any part of Gods mercies and iudgements. And because also the greatnesse of the argument in generall doth deserue of it selfe, and through some more speciall and importunate traducements of my selfe by some more seuerer censurers of my poore paynes hereabout in another kind (wherein I desired to giue satisfaction to this argument) may happely vrge me to a more particular consideration and discourse about the same hereafter) I will leaue it for this time, and come to that other and last reason of this first ranke, arguing the vnlawfulnessse of this Crosse simply and in it owne nature: which is, because being with many other ceremonies most of them artificiall and of mans deuising, and withall Ecclesiasticall, as we all grant, are yet notwithstanding significant to the Church of GOD, and of mysticall vse, representation and signification (there being no warrant or Scripture in particular or generall expressely or by consequence for any such ceremonies.) To which because I haue answered in a larger discourse (which God willing shall not be long from the worlds censure) somewhat in examining that cauil & exception against our Church, how far forth Marrimony signifieth the mysticall vnion betwixt Christ and his Church (as is read in our solemnization thereof) I may be a little the briefer herein. The argument it selfe standing vpon a very small and weake foundation of all other. For these ceremonies first being enioyned and appointed by lawfull authority to a good end, without heresie or error thereabout in our doctrine, or superstition, or any kind of manifest impiety and pollution in our practising of them, we haue many waies sufficient warrant for any of them in the word of GOD: neither are any of them done without, or besides Gods warrant and allowance by his word, as in the declaration of this point in our treatise before we haue shewed, being done to that generall end of all our actions in respect of God, *Rom. 14*: Whether we eate or drinke, or whatsoeuer els

1. Cor. 14. 27.
and 40. verſ.

we do (being matters as free for particulars in choyce and variety, and indifferent (as these ceremonies) doe them all to the glory of G O D, and that other no lesse generall in respects of men and the whole Church of God: 1. Cor. 14. Let all things be done to edifying, comelinesse and order: Inſomuch as we are ſo far from doubting, whether these things done in this manner and to these ends eſpecially, inioyned and commanded by lawfull authority, be pleaſing vnto God, according to *Rom. 14. 23*: (ſo far forth as things indifferent and of that nature are ſaid to pleaſe God) as that being omitted either by the magiſtrate in not appointing them, or by the ſubieſt of any place by not obſeruing them, they are to be cenſured for manifeſt breaches of Gods commandement. Secondly to allow a ceremony; and not to be ſignificant, were to imagine a ſhadow without a ſubſtance; all of them being outward ſignes, and ſo neceſſarily ſignificant of ſome inward diſpoſition of the will affecting, ſhewing or expecting any thing: as *Fulke* againſt *Sanders* on the miſſals, and books that way written very many eſpecially by *Durandus* in his *Rationali diuinarum* (albeit ſome haue called it, and that not without reaſon for ſome things therein contained, an vnreaſonable booke) may euidently appeare. And that the Church of God hath in all ages lawfully and without any contradiction of God or man inuented and appointed ſuch ceremonies, the better to teſtifie their repentance, and humiliation, for cauſe of ioy and thankſgiuing (which containe in a manner the whole ſumme of mans duties to God) all the ceremonies vſed at faſts or feaſtes doe demonſtrate to all the world, whereof that one is very memorable, not only in the feaſt of Purim it ſelfe, which was an inuention and appointment of the Church at that time, as well as many other which we haue aboue remembred, but one ſpeciall ceremony which the Iewes retaine vnto this day: which is, that whenſoeuer the name of *Haman* is repeated in the Scripture to be read on that Feſtiuall, all ſtand vp and beate the ſormes and ſeates with their hands and feete, for their generall better remembraunce of that great benefit of their deliuerance from that

that cruell *Haman*, and signifying their detestation of that intendment of his for euer. And *Tertullian* more neere to our purpose, vpon occasion of that souldiers refusal, speaketh thus in generall of the habites of Christians suitable to the bloud and passions of Christ, hath these words: *Rubricati incedimus, & amentes perhibemur*: Whereunto also that of significant names giuen at Baptisme and so vpon conscience of sinne enioyned by their Masters (who are by many accounted most iudicious amongst themselves) may fitly be adioyned: which doe not only put those children and the speciall congregation present at their baptizing to thankfulness and obedience (which are the summe of all Christian duties) but also are of all other ceremonies inuented by man most significant, and that of the greatest matters of our faith and profession in this life, and future hope and expectation for the life to come: as namely Repent (as some haue beene called) which is the summe of all those significant ceremonies of dipping and rising againe out of the water, importing the death and resurrection of Christ, and so consequently our regeneration, as *Rom. 8*: and one other (dust) vsed also by them, signifying our mortality: and lastly that common and very significant ceremony (which many Diuines doe teache it in their praiers & preaching also, to be for our continuall vse and practise:) when as by lying downe in our beds, and rising vp againe, is signified vnto vs our lying downe in our graue and the resurrection of our flesh againe: which is a matter of our highest faith and expectation from Christ Iesus his flesh and spirit, from which all our spirituall hope and comforts are deriued. All which so long as they conteyne no error or superstition in them, nay yet through singularity violate any wholsome constitution made to the contrary, nor lastly through nouelty and weaknesse of iudgement, giue occasion not onely of vnecessary scandall, and too too truly giuen, but also at sometimes of scoffing and scorning to some profane spirits at such holy mysteries (in which the least action and gesture ought to carry a due reuerence, port and Maiesty) I thinke no man of vnderstanding can iustly mislike them.

Antonius Mar.
garita Iudæus
baptizatus de
ceremoniis
Iudæorum.
Tertullian de
Corona militis.

In his examination of the
Councell of
Trent

Aquinas tertia
parte Summae
quæst. 60. Art. 3.

Irenæus lib.
10. cap. 24.

them: Thirdly these men forget what a broad difference there is betweene sundry kinds of ceremonies, which all notwithstanding are significant, and can no otherwise be. For which end I could wish them to peruse that which *Chennifius* that most learned Lutheran and graue Diuine hath, in his answer & examination of the Councell of *Trent*, about this very matter of the Crosse and Images so grossly abused by the Papists: where making out of the Schooles some Signes prognosticall, some Collatitiall, some memoratiue, some Demonstratiue, &c. neither he nor any iudicious Diuine in the world doth, or euer did condemne all memoratiue Signes, of which kind and nature we haue euer holden and maintained the Crosse, but no way of power or the least hability to confer and conuey any grace or good vnto the Church, or any creature, as the old heretickes by *Irenæus* his story gaue vnto it (*μυστικὴν καὶ ἰεραρχικὴν δύναμιν* which I expound) power to remoue & dispell euill, and to confirme and establish any good: which for many particulars, and the worst vse of all, many foolish, superstitious, and idolatrous Papists haue taken vp and taught in the world. Howbeit for being memoratiue signes, and instructions for things present, or to come, which may be helpees vnto any our manifold weaknesse (as aboue saide) we cannot yet see any sufficient reason against them: and I would be beholding to any that should make any full, sound, and good demonstration to the contrary. And so I conclude this Chapter and mine answer to the first kind of Obiections with two excellent sentences of *Georgius Cassander* in the place before cited: *Quamuis verbum Dei sacris literis consignatum, & sacramenta nobis ab ipso relicta plenam institutionem contineant, tamen non inanis est opera illorum qui verbi intelligentiam & sacramentorum significantiam pluribus verbis & signis, modo diuino verbo non aduersentur explicandam & in hominum animis defigendam putarunt.* And anon after: *Qui non inuaniunt umbris ceremoniarum eo quod norint veritatem, tollerent eas (ubi opus est) propter Charitatem.* And one other grand decree and kind of Anathema vsed by the Iewes, and euery way as fitly to be applied to our cere-

ceremonies, and to be denounced against manifest despisers and deprauiers of them : *Qui contemnit festa solennia & cultus Ecclesiasticos, quia irritum facit fides Abrahami Patris nostri, non habebit partem futuri saeculi:* which Hospinian applieth to our ceremonies.

Hospinian de festis Iudaeorum & caeremoniis paschatis cap. 5. pa. 19.

CHAP. V.

Answering the objections of the Crosse, being used for an Idoll sometimes, and so retained yet in some places of the world.



THE other reasons vsually made against any vse of the Crosse in holy baptisme or any other administration appertaining to religion, or any part of Gods seruice, are taken from certaine accidentall occasions which haue fallen out in the world, and the Church of God it selfe about this Crosse: being either not vnderstood, or misconstrued, or too too hardly censured by some, which vpon their owne conceipt haue growen into great mislike of the same; or lastly because it hath beene abused at any time to superstition and idolatry. The first whereof may be that of their last coyning, for any thing I haue read or heard, except only that by way of proiect and collaterall kind of answer, Doctor *Fulke* against *Sanders* might suggest something to this exception, very quickly apprehended by such busie spirits, and the cauelling wits of so many Sophisters and impostors in these daies: for so that truely famous learned man telleth *Sanders* and his complices, that they might as well worship those torturing engines wherewith Martyrs were cruelly handled and ended their liues withall, as this of the Crosse vpon which our Sauour Christ endured such cruelty and shame: which rather is worthy of all detestation, as this replyer against it inferreth thereupon, then of any such honourable mention as is made thereof in the administration of Baptisme.

Fulke against Sanders of Images.

To which (albeit vnworthy of any answer) being a grosse and foule fallation *ab ignorations Elenchi* (as we say) the argument being not *ad idem*: for this honorable mention of the Crosse is not made by vs, because it was a meanes of tormenting so innocent a person (howsoeuer also not the instrument, but the deuisers and actors of so wicked a practise, deserue all the blame herein) but because it pleased God to permit, and so it was effected in time, that his owne Sonne should by so shamefull a death (the better to declare the greatnesse of our miseries and his owne mercies) procure our peace. Which in respect of the worthines of the person, and omnipotency of Gods power and mercy might no doubt otherwise haue been accomplished: but that now being done, and (as the Schooles speake) *omnia dum sunt necesse est ut sint*: we therefore iustly doe, and indeede necessarily ought to retaine all possible meanes for the due remembrance of it: neither may those accidents thereabout any more cause vs to detest the thing it selfe, or forbear the mentioning of it, then if an honest mans sword should in it selfe be hated for any cruelty wrought by it: or which is more fit, if any man should euermore loath and detest those burning, cutting, and cauterising yrons by which our health (when there is no other remedy) hath sometimes been procured. Which Saint *Basil* saith in his moralls we doe well abide, loue and like: although we cannot indure the physicians of our soules to cut, burne, or touch our soules with those spirituall instruments and edge of Gods lawe. Nay further, an other great and good father not vnfitly (albeit somewhat insolently and strangely for the manner of speeche) is not afraid to cry out of *Adam* his sinne it selfe (which was the first mouer in this violent resolution of the heauen it selfe, for all causes concurring herein to our peace, and the whole argument occasioning all that great tragedy) *O felix culpa que salem meruit redemptorem*: Much more may we call it a blessed Crosse and wounds, by and yppon which the Apostle witnesseth all our peace was procured, ratified and confirmed for euer. Another argument of this latter kind, and to the same pur-

In Asceticis.

Cyprian.

purpose is thus framed : No inuention of man or ceremony whatsoeuer, whereof there is not for the present, nor yet euer hath beene any necessary vse in the Church of God, being once abused, and that so generally, may any longer be vsed and reteined in any part or meanes of Gods seruice : but the Crosse is for euery point such a thing, therefore it ought no longer to be vsed in any reformed Church. To which I first answer, that by this argument all ceremonies whatsoeuer (besides those which the word of God specifieth and particularly requireth) should in time be all condemned, and cast out of the Church : which was the opinion of some in Germany, as namely *Iohannes Bunderlinus* and *Sebastiane Franck* (who set forth books Anno. 1530: condemning all ceremonies) yea euen the holy Sacraments themselues: because they had been prophaned, violated and oppressed (as they write) by the tyranny and Idolatry of Antichrist. For so indeed it is cleere, that no humane inuention whatsoeuer, but hath either formerly, or may futurely be abused: and so by consequence none to be reteined in sequele of time and abuse. So that any may perceiue the very foundation of this argument to be most vnfound, and contrary to the very rules of common reason, for that (as *Aristotle* truly teacheth) whatsoeuer is, or may be well vsed, may also be abused: and secondly, no abuse of any thing can take away the right and true vse thereof; for then as the Apostle saith in another such like case we should goe out of the world. And lastly nothing can be abused which hath not first of all been in some good vse or at the least appointed thereunto, the abuse being a priuatiue or a negatiue at the least of the other; and so no doubt was this Crosse before (as we haue aboue remembred out of *Irenaeus*) the Gnosticks and other hereticks had so anciently abused the same : and more particularly the sanctified Bells so called and vsed in Poperie, & in most of our Churches yet reteined, our Fonts also which haue been as fouly abused, to speake nothing of our feastes (wherein much Idolatry and foolish worship hath been giuen to Saints diuers waies) should all be remoued, if this argument

Iohannes Bunderlinus
Sebastiane Franck, and
one *Entfelder*.
Anno 1543.

Aristot. Ethicks
lib. 4. cap. 4.

1. Cor. 5.

2. of Kings.
cap. 28. v. 4. &
2. Chroni. cap.
29. vers. 16.

were good, there being no such absolute necessity for any of them, besides the commandement of lawfull authority which for decency, order, and better edification appointeth the same rather then any thing els. For so we see that (as some haply vpon conscience of this matter and argument we haue in hand, haue made a common practise of it) children might otherwise be baptized at some bason, or some riuer and fountaine of water, as *Iohn Baptist* did. And for the brasen Serpent (about which there hath been so much adoe betwixt *Martiall* and *Calfill*, *Fulke* and *Sanders*, euen in this very argument of the Crosse) there is no question but that it was very much abused before *Hezechias* his time: and yet did not any of the Kings before him pull it downe, nor any of the Prophets of those times did call vpon them so to doe; much lesse (as some of these new masters enioyne Christian princes) were any of those Princes bound vpon feare of that Serpent so to be abused, or giuing occasion to Idolatry (which could not bee but very great, it being placed in the Temple it selfe, as by the story repeated in the *Kings* and *Chronicles* compared together may appeare:) and that it was no necessary thing, but indifferent, *Hezechias* his pulling it downe without any reproofe of the Prophets, or breach of any Gods lawes, as it seemeth, sufficiently declareth: who also if he had let it continue still, and caused the people by instruction and true discipline to leaue that their abusing of it, no Scripture or Prophet (I dare say) could haue reprehended him for it; as we doe not reade that any one or other commended him greatly for taking it away, nor reprehended any other of the Kings for not pulling it downe before. And lastly, the setting vp of the Image or portraiture of any ones father or friend (which is a thing in my poore opinion too too common in some other respect, euen in the places where all the parts of our holy seruices are performed, as also the armes and pictures of Princes, which is as common in many Churches, might with greater shew of reason be called into question/ if there were any force in this argument) then our Crosse, which is but aërious, and a transient
signe

signe(as we haue aboue shewed) and neither Image nor *Simulachrum* as the learned distinguish them; and as those we last named are. Which also haue not only beene abused to the greatest superstition and Idolatry(as appeareth by all storie) but also the very first occasions and originalls of all Idolatry, as out of the 14. of the booke of *Wisedome* partly appeareth, and many learned men haue gathered from thence, and how the pictures of princes haue bin by the flattery of Sycophants, their owne pride and cruelty abused this way, many histories report. And yet I hope for these abuses, causes, or occasions thereof(then the which there can be no greater) none will be so bold, not onely for feare of law in that case prouided, but euen vpon conscience of due reuerence to the same, as to pull them downe, or conclude that they ought to be pulled down: or any way deface them, or disgrace them by word or practise. Secondly (whereas they object that there is no necessarie vse of this Crosse in the Church of God) I aunswer that it is enough for vs, and might be for them also (but that nothing can hold them) to make it necessary, because the Church of Christ hath so aunciently vsed it, and the present Church gouernment iudgeth it still fit to be retained amongst vs: neither ought any priuate spirit to call that common, prophane, or vnneccessary (as Saint *Peter* sometimes was aduertised) which G O D by his lawfull Magistrate hath made holy and necessary to be performed by vs. Neither yet can any accidentall abuse, albeit in the highest degree of any thing whatsoever necessary or indifferent, discharge the subiect from his due obedience to things of this nature once commanded by the Magistrate. Which if it should be granted and yeelded vnto, many temporall Lawes of this kingdome (which are forced to tolerate many a mischiefe oftentime) ought eftsloones to be repealed. Thirdly, besides that there haue been, and yet are very many good and so necessary vses of this Crosse (as we haue formerly proued) so is there no better way to shew and reforme the abuses of the same, then that both by preaching (which I could wish were more carefully performed in this behalfe),

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Act. 10.

Cap. 4.

behalf) and due vse and practising the same in the publique congregation, all sorts of people might be informed in the truth and lawfulness of this ceremony by Gods word. Lastly for those places which are alledged out of *Exodus*, *Esaie*, and *Hosea*, to strengthen this argument, I answer, that most of them are particular cases grounded vpon speciall circumstances of those peoples sinnes, and so are not to be drawne to conclude any generall proposition for, or against these kind of ceremonies: as for example there is great odds betweene the land of *Canaan* where all such meanes and monuments of Idolatry are in particular commanded vtterly to be defaced, and any part of the Church of G O D, in which any such abuse hath sometimes haphed or more constantly beene continued, for which God neuer gaue any peremptory and generall commandement or speciall charge against them. Secondly those places in *Esaie* and *Hosea* are threatnings and promises of God to his Church, for the better informing, ordering, and comforting the same, and in no reasonable construction or exposition, any peremptory commandements against the things there spoken of: as where it is said, I will pollute their Images, and cause the name of *Baal* to cease, the one being a iust iudgement denounced against the Idolatry of that time (which God be thanked is farre from vs and our state, which maketh seuerall lawes for the punishment of the same) the other a gracious promise, as the scope of that place and the meaning of the words declare. And what a deale of Sophistry is committed by allegation of Scripture, any Iudicious text-man or obseruer of the many strange conclusions of these times may easily perceiue, and elsewhere my selfe haue giuen some touch vnto them, and tast vnto other: because indeed (which is diligently to be marked for the true vnderstanding of many Scriptures) many things are spoken therein especially in their Sermons *exhortatorie* (as *Luther* obserueth in the Fathers) that is, by way of exhortation and *maio rem cautelam* (as *Caietanus* also obserueth in the Schooles themselues) wherein things are applied to the times present, and not any way determined of for the law.

Esaie. 30.
Hosea. 2.

2. 2. quest. de
usura.

lawfulnesse or vnlawfulnesse thereof, and so such promises and threatnings implying alwayes a condition, doe put nothing in being, as the Schooles speake, which is alwaies to be examined, and only to be iudged by the rule and Canon of the morall Lawe: of which nature also are certaine homilies of ours from which these exceptors thinke they haue so great aduantage, as well for not subscribing thereunto, as for the overthrowing this matter of the Crosse which we haue in hand. Besides also that many things are by comparison and symbolically drawne by these disputers from the olde Testament to the new: and so as the schooles say, *argumenta symbolica & comparatiua*, are *parum argumentatiua*, little or nothing at all able to conclude any thing: whereas those godly exhortations are made (as the title of them sheweth) against the perill of Idolatry, and by way of greater detestation, and not according to their particular iudgement what is lawfull or forbidden therein by the precise rule of Gods word. Lastly these men greatly wrong themselues, as well as our whole Church and the gouernors thereof, in comparing that abominable Idoll of *Baal* and the rest aboue mentioned, in those Scriptures, with our Crosse, and other such like ceremonies, howsoeuer defiled with much superstition and Idolatry at any time: for as for that one of *Baal*, and most also of the other, there neuer was, nor possibly could be any good vse of them, as we haue shewed and prooued of the Crosse. Neither was the naming of those abominable Idols simply wicked (as Saint *Ierome* also disputeth in one of his Epistles, and which might well fit our tenderest in this kind, who cannot abide the least mention of the Masse, and that vpon conscience of these places, which yet was generally vsed, as Doctor *Fulke* sheweth, to signifie the Lords supper by it a long time in the Church) but such a mentioning of them only as those Idolaters did vse towards them, as may appeare by the contrary protestation of *Dauid*, Psalm. 16: saying, I will not mention them in my lips, which is (as the scope of that speciall place argueth) to praise them or pray vnto them, as it is well knowne the Idolaters did. Whereas
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Fulke against
Sanders.

the worst that euer was imputed or performed to this Crosse, or any other of that nature, was no way giuen to the things themselues, or by their meanes to any horrible Idoll, as that of *Baall* was, and so to the very diuell himselfe (as *Saint Paul* sheweth) but respectiuely alwayes, and in relation to him that did hang vpon the Crosse (as the worst of them all challenge for themselues) as from whom by their idle fancies, and superstitious imaginations some diuine power was communicated and transfused into that, and all other Cresses; and that no otherwise (as the best of them plead for it) and themselues) then as a King doth make a grant, and sendeth vsually some token of his will and authority in many particulars by his ring or seale: and so much for this argument also.

CHAP. VI.

Answering that obiection for Christian liberty, which the Crosse is supposed in some so much to crosse.



THE other reasons that followe, are of lesse moment, and yet for the satisfying of all (as neere as I can) I will returne somewhat to them also, the one being taken from that grand prerogatiue of Christian liberty challenged and magnified many waies by these men: the other from those necessary, apparent, and vnauoidable offences, which doe dayly and must needs still arise from the vse of this Crosse: which as all Christians, so especially the chiefe Magistrate, and all other vnder him that haue charge of their peoples soules as well as of their bodies, are bound to foresee, preuent, and take away, or els should be found to transgresse that royall Lawe spoken of in *James*, and that speciall branch thereof mentioned in the 14. to the *Rom.* by not walking in loue, nor hauing charitable compassion at the least of these mens infirmities, and great soules dangers and dammage. The first whereof (which toucheth Christian liberty) fauoreth not a little of Anabaptisme, from which

*James. 3.
Rom. 14. v. 15.*

which some writing masters of this kind haue bought or borrowed too many drugges to make vp their poysonfull confessions in some of their books, as that other aboue, vsed by them against the indifferency of any thing, was drawne from the Manichees. Infomuch as a man may boldly and truely say of many of these irregular persons, for the summe of their new doctrines and strange practises, that they are for the most part (and so will be found) to be compounded of Manichisme and Anabaptisme, I meane the worst sort of them: For against the other (which I haue elswhere distinguished) I neuer intended in this or any other to deale against them, but as neere as I can, the errors of them all. As in this one particular of withdrawing their obedience to lawfull authority in things in their owne nature indifferent, vnder colour of Christiā liberty, doth very plainly appeare. In which (for more speciall answer) they shew not only their great security in not examining their consciences for so manifest a breache of Gods Lawe, and their further pride & hypocrisie in passing ouer the *grauiora legis* (as Christ told the Pharisies of his time) vnder colour and pretence of making scruples and conscience of these smaller things (as comparatiuely they may be called) but also very grosse and sottish ignorance in not discerning, nor any way determining aright of this Christian liberty. Which is a thing indeed (as *Caluin* well obserueth, and discourseth vpon this argument) no lesse spirituall then the pardon of sinne, and peace of conscience; and specially consisteth in that spirituall freedome from the lawe of sinne (and curse awarded by Gods lawe thereupon) which naturally raigneth in our mortall bodies, that is, euery power and part of body and soule; and power from Christ his grace, spirit and life, to worke righteousness and fulfill the law: as Saint *Paul* from the last words of the 4. Chap. to the *Romanes*, to the end of the seueneth, most fully setteth downe. Neither did Christ come (as himselfe proclaimeth) to destroy the Law, but to establish and performe it in himselfe and all his members: who is a Saviour, but not to sinne againe, a physition, but not to sursetting, and therefore hath

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Zanch. in
Confess.

deliuered vs from all our enemies, that we should serue him, and keepe every one of his commandements. The maine summe whereof standeth in due obedience to himselfe, and his lawfull ordinances, as Saint *Peter* expoundeth the same. Neither doth our freedome from that severity of the ceremoniall Lawe abridge any whit the authority of the Magistrate in decent ceremonies agreeable to the Gospell; but cleane contrary (as we haue aboue remembred) inuesteth rather that whole perfection, meaning, and authority of the ceremoniall Law in those Christian Magistrates, to whom God committeth any part of his Church vnder the Gospell. The ceremoniall Law indeed being nothing els but an order appointed by God himselfe for the outward policy and discipline of the Church being then vnder the pedagogy of the Law, which now is left to the liberty of Christian Princes as they shall see their times & occasions to require. Only, *ut Austen, ne excedant* and so become a snare and burden; where yet I see not but obedience is necessary, albeit (*ut Peter*) a yoke too heauy to beare, and it is a sinne to the commanders encroching vpon this liberty: but yet you inferior must obey, and so (as *Beza*) *bono parere*, may and must stand when magistrates doe *male imperare*. So if the Apostles had vrged more ceremonies, *paren- dum orat : Secundo Cauendum ne (ut de Imaginis usu) multitudine ceremoniarum* hinder charity, or oppresse any in these poore times, and daies of Gods wrath vpon the Church, as also of the miserie for the most part of the ministry and abundance of poore in all places. Thirdly dispute not thou what is fit for discipline of Clergy or people, in ceremonies more or lesse, these or other, but leaue it to the magistrate that is charged with that care, and must answer for his magistracy, and sinnes thereof one day. Neither may any without great occasion of sinne, and manifest breach of the fift commandement, pulle their necks out of the yoke of their lawfull commands. For Christianity taketh not away any part of ciuility or humanity (as some haue well said) much lesse due obedience to lawfull authority, as too many haue taught of late and practised. And

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to conclude this first part of my answer to this obiection, I desire all to reade and compare with iudgement that reply of our Sauour Christ to that Pharisaicall exception against Christ his Disciples for eating with vnwashten hands, with the doctrine and practises of these men, who making scruple and much adoe about Crosse and Surplice, and a few ceremonies distasting their priuate iudgements, runne headlong into open neglect and contempt of the fift commandement. And so as the Pharisies did vpon error of deuotion and conscience to their Corban, cause many a silly discip^{le} of theirs to neglect their manifold duties to father and mother, whereby (as Christ telleth them) they made the commandement of God of none effect by their traditions. Euen so doe these new masters euery way the selfesame in effect. Secondly I answer, that albeit no humane Lawes do of themselues binde the conscience, but only as they haue their ground and warrant from the fift commandement, and further, that no magistrate or creature in the world can take away the least part of Christian liberty in things inwardly spirituall, or outwardly indifferent in themselves for choice or vse (because Christian liberty is the selfesame still, and is seene as well in doing, as not doing, vsing or not vsing any thing subiect vnto it:) yet do all wise esteemers of these things hold, that euery Christian Magistrate may, and ought also many times by vertue of the fift commandement, restraints this Christian liberty in many particular things, according as any good cause and reason generall or particular, may occasion any Prince or state to make wholesome Lawes for any such purpose. And that so farre, and so large, as no one commandemēt of God by commission or omission any thing hereby be preiudiced by any of these restraints or impositions whatsoeuer. As in the matter of fasting & abstinence, the learned Schooles haue fully determined; which may serue for answer and direction touching all wholesome Lawes penall or otherwise enacted and in force, in our state or any other.

CHAP. VII.

Answering the obiection of so many scandals arising by the vse of the Crosse.



Hieron. in 15.
 Math. v. 12.
 Scandalum est
 dictum vel factum
 quod dat
 alteri occasionem
 ruinæ.

That other of this last and least kind of arguments against the Crosse (which shall also be the last of this our consideration) is drawne from the offences which haply haue, or may at any time arise from the vse of this Crosse. For answer whereunto I hope I shall not need to stand vpon the definition of a Scandall in generall, or the vsuall diuisions of the same into Actiue and Passiue by the Schooles, and commonly termed offences giuen or taken: but referring all to Saint *Jerome* his definition of a Scandall, set downe in his commentaries vpon the 15. of *Math. vers. 12*. I wish these great exceptors, and all other too too iustly scandalized by them, & their offensive behaviours in this behalfe, to turne their eyes vpon the manifold scandals and inconueniences also, which many waies breake out privately and publiquely, both in Church and common wealth, by reason of their omitting, misliking, and so peremptory condemning the vse of the same, albeit established by publique authority amongst vs. Which indeed are so many, as that no wisely affected or honestly disposed heart can but thoroughly and most feelingly be touched and iustly grieved withall; especially since those which rise from the omitting of it, are farre greater and of another nature from those which proceede from the vsing of it, even in Baptisme it selfe, or any other holy administration, there beeing indeed betwixt them no iust or fit proportion or comparison: the one being only passiue, and vnnecessarily taken by those that abuse them, and themselves and others by them: and doe neither know the truth, vse, or right practise of them: the other being too too iustly giuen, and actiuelly, and in themselves euil

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(as the Schooles speak, and we haue aboue shewed) containing in them manifold breaches of the fift, and almost every other commandement of God. As namely generall disobedience, and both inward and too too often outward kicking, spurning and rebelling against the most graue decrees and constitutions of the Church, and soueraigne authority of the chiefe Magistrate (to which euery honest heart ought willingly to subscribe and simply without contradiction or dispute to yeeld their obedience.) Besides the great neglecting of speciall callings, and manifold duties therein to G O D and man, bereauing the Church also by this meanes of their gifts, and themselues and others of their necessary maintenance, besides many other, which I haue more grieve then will to repeat. Secondly, were these offences both alike, I meane accidentally euill only, as those taken herein are, and so being mere occasions, *non dant speciem, nec veniunt in definitione*, as the Schooles speake, 22. *Quest. 43. art. 1.* and therefore are no proper causes of euill: yet in such a consideration, the greater number doth and ought with euery good conscience to ouersway the fewer and the lesser, which if they should be reckoned together, there would appeare great oddes, and a broad difference to any equall or iudicious eie. And whereas some haue found a more nice difference in this behalfe, in respect of the Magistrates commanding these things, which in their iudgements might well be forborne, charging them further with great want at the least of Christian charity, and wise louing care and foresight towards the good of their poore subiects, and inferiours soules and bodies, by not preventing and taking away so many causes, or to speake more properly, occasions of so much offence, hurt and damage to their weake consciences and Church of God in generall: I answer first, that it is a horrible sinne both against the fift, but especially against the ninth commandement, for any priuate spirit or person whatsoever, to entertaine any such thoughts and suspicions (which are no other then diabolicall suggestions) against their Prince or any lawfull authority placed ouer them. Whereas the rule

of that royall law is particularly exprest in the ninth commandement, neuer to censure or conster the words or doings of any the meanest offensiue and to the worst, when any more fauourable conceipt and interpretation thereof may be admitted and affoorded. Much more to presume so farre as to prescribe any thing in this kind to those, whose very thoughts they ought to honour euen in their owne secret thoughts, and priuy chambers ; much more to reuerence and imbrace with all duery and respect, all their solemne ordinances and designments for any such administration, for the which they are accountants to God only and none other. And therefore I cease now to marueile, and rather begin to feare and tremble, at the most insolent practises and behauiour of some in these daies, who not only dare to censure and misdeeme by most vncharitable iudgement, the words, writings, and best composed Sermons of the most considerate and zealous amongst vs: but also feare not to enter into the very thoughts of Kings themselues: whereas besides religion, common charity, and speciall allegiance, euen good manners might teach and perswade them other thoughts, words, and demeanour. As namely, that hauing by Gods mercy so worthy a Soueraign borne, bred, and nurtured vp from his cradle in holy and pure religion, so well through his study and experience (being now also for his age almost in the vigor and perfection of both) so well and thoroughly qualified and accomplished with all royall graces and vertues, besides his long obseruation of all state occasions Ecclesiasticall and ciuill, which himselfe hath so long mannaged, and sate at the sterne of both; insomuch as without flattery, that may iustly be said of him, which the Prophet spake of *Hezekias*, The feare of the Lord hath made him prudent; and that *Techoathish* woman of *Dauid*, that he is wise as an Angell of God, specially sent for the good of his kingdome : who also from his first comming amongst vs (to speake the best, but to a sicke and distempered body, howsoeuer (I may boldly say) as well shapen and proportioned for all lineaments of state proceedings, as any other Church or

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common wealth in the world) hath spent no doubt many an howre in prayer and heavenly meditation with GOD, and much conference with all his worthies, how to prescribe and minister a course for the reducing of the whole bodie to a true temper of vniformity and peaceable proceeding in all things: as also hauing so many assistants and vnder gouernors of rare quality, vnderstanding and iudgement (whose soules & consciences, yea liues and liberties, and peaceable prosperity for them and theirs for euer, are most deeply engaged in this businesse with his maiesty) should first of all humbly honour GOD for these inestimable and neuer before knowne meanes, and both to thinke and resolue with themselves that these worthies haue more reason both in conscience and matter of state proceeding, and haue found and iudged it more profitable and auailable for the common peace of the Church, and good of the whole state, as well to retaine these ancient ceremonies of the Church, rather then to inuent new; as also vpon such penalties to vrge the vniforme vse thereof, then otherwise to take away any formerly established, or to forbear the restoring of any decayed or intermitted, or els to giue toleration to any contrary minded, for the doctrine, vse and practise of the same. And then in things of this nature being indifferent, or somewhat more doubtfull to weake and vnsetled iudgements, to submit themselves, their iudgements and consciences in all duety, reuerence and humility to these sage, grand, and no doubt most conscionable determinations of such and so many as are both as holy (as the best of the standers out) and more old and wise then their fathers (as he told *Iob*) who haue oftentimes considered, and doe yet (when these men haply sleepe) maturely deliberate of these, and all such occasions, for the common peace and their special good, if they had eyes and grace to see it.

And lastly to consider a little (which any that hath his eyes in his head may easily discern) what these contrary and ouerthwart practises of theirs might, and are most likeliest to worke in the minds and disposition of most Princes, who as
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Aristot. Ethic.
co. tertio.

the Poet saith, haue for the most part high and strong affecti-
ons, and whom, as *Aristotle* sheweth, nothing sooner moueth
to wrath and iust displeasure then neglect and contempt, es-
pecially of their most holy and honorable endeouours: and had
not we a meeke *Moses* as well as a most wise and worthie *Salomon*,
might iustly be feared to hazard not onely all Church
priuiledges, but euen (which sometimes befell that patient
ruler and leader of Gods people) the breaking at once of both
tables, that is horrible vultation and fearfull dissipation of all
things in Church or common wealth. Thirdly, I answer tou-
ching these offences, with our Sauour Christ, *Matth. 18*. Woe
be to them by whom the offence commeth: which in this case
can no way be imputed to the magistrate commanding, accord-
ing to his conscience and speciall duty to God and his peo-
ple in this behalfe, any such ceremony for vniformity, godly
edifying, and peace of that gouernment and body ecclesiasti-
call or Ciuill whereof he is the head; much lesse may it be fast-
ned vpon the immediate minister and vser of any such cere-
mony, who is necessarily bound to doe the thing which his
prince or any other lawfull authority require at his hands,
and hath the same for his warrant; insomuch as if haply any
iust offence be giuen herein (to which any such woe properly
belongeth) it doth by all right and reason returne vpon the
first commanders (who will not deny I am sure to take the
same vpon them) and by no equity vpon the heads of any in-
ferior souldiers, which are enioyned vpon iust penalties to
doe that which their Captaines direct and appoint. But in-
deed the true cause of those offences which haply some-
times come to passe, resteth in them only who partly through
weaknesse and grosse ignorance (which neuer excused any)
and sometimes wilfulnesse, pride, and malice, make offence in
these things to themselues and others (and therefore a more
griuous woe is due vnto them) when indeed there is no iust
cause thereof any where to be found; who also might both
perswade themselues and others, but that (as I may without
breach of charity boldly affirme) they are so farre gone and
depar-

departed from their due obedience in this kind (euen by a perpetuall rebellion as *Jeremis* speaketh) as that they haue resolued together with those of whome the Poet *Sophocles* speaketh, neuer to be perswaded: although indeede they be perswaded, and find in their consciences that without any iust offence to GOD or man, they might safely doe any of these things. Lastly, I answer that there is no better meanes to auoid and vterly to take away these offences imagined, or truly giuen and so commonly taken by Papists, or any other in the vse of the Crosse or other ceremonies that are now adayes so generally distasted, then when Christian Princes commaund the true and right vse of them, and the godly learned ministry do by their preaching and vsing the same instruct all sorts of people, both how to vse them aright, and also to shunne the manifold abuses and offences which haue fallen out thereupon in the world. Wherin if the learned ministerie of this kingdome had beene as carefull and constant both in their doctrine and practise to obserue this vniformity, not only in this ceremony of the Crosse, but all other things for doctrine and manners, so wisely and carefully agreed vppon and prouided in our Church: as the other are ouer diligent in the one by their daily teaching and dropping as it were into the minds of their followers so many drops of all those mischiefes: and most resolute in tying themselues and all their sectaries by the strictest subscription (that euer I thinke was vrged) to the obseruation of their orders and none other: we had long since scene an end of so many schismes and vnnecessary differences and contentions amongst vs about these *Leuiora legis* (as I may terme them) of Crosse, Surplice, and other ceremonies, and many times about meere trifles and moon-shine in the water: which yet haue much hindred many things appertaining to the weightier things of Gods Law, as mercy, peace, iudgement and righteousnesse, wherein the kingdome of God and the safety of his people consisteth: and many a poore soule, and otherwise loyall subiects, which now though ignorance, perplexity, tendernes of conscience, or

any worse cause feele the penalty of that lawe, whereof they might haue had the good and benefit (which is the proper end thereof) would neuer haue incurred so many scruples, snares, domages and daungers: wherewith their minds, goods, names, bodies, soules, and all are now entangled and much incombred, afflicted and oppressed. Whose eyes I pray God for Christ his sake to open, and by the meanes and helpes of so many worthy *Abners* vnder our Soueraigne amongst vs, to reduce all the true subiects and liege people of this kingdome, euen from *Dan* to *Beerseba*, vnto the most wise, blessed, and peaceable gouernement of our *Danid*, by reason of our diuisions yet remaining as it were in them: whom wee hope God hath annoynted & established with his posterity to sit vpon this throne, and raigne eftsfoones ouer vs as in Ierusalem for euer, when all the enemies of our peace and state shall by his industry and godly wisdom be brought to one vniformity and agreement in all points and articles of faith and doctrine, and a generall, true, constant, and continuall conformance in Ceremonies, which onely is able to make our England *Dauids* Ierusalem, *Psalms*. 122. and all of vs with our posteritie to see the peace of it all the dayes of our life, so to continue for euer.

FINIS.



